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ABSTRACT

The following papers and reports are included: (1) "Prisoners of Code-Centred Privacy: Reflections on Contrastive Analysis and Related Disciplines" by Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen; (2) "The Methodology and Practice of Contrastive Discourse Analysis" by Sajavaara, Lehtonen, and Liisa Korpimies; (3) "Interactional Activities in Discourse between Native and Finnish Speakers of English" by Aija Saario; (4) "Kinesics in Discourse between Native and Finnish Speakers of English" by Pirjo Valokorpi; (5) "Conversation Management from a Contrastive Point of View" by Eija Ventola; (6) "An Approach to a Linguistic Description of Drama Conversation" by Liisa Korpimies; (7) "The Conversation Class: An Exercise in Applied Discourse Analysis" by Glyn Hughes, Maija Vasari, and David Wilson; (8) "Subject and Theme in English Discourse" by Liisa Lautamatti; and (9) "Notes on the Structure of English Expository Discourse Units" by Heikki Nyyssonen. (JB)

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PAPERS IN DISCOURSE AND CONTRASTIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

edited by

Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen

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PRISONERS OF CODE-CENTRED PRIVACY:
REFLECTIONS ON CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS AND RELATED DISCIPLINES[*]

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INTRODUCTION

Languages have been internalized more often without teaching than through teaching. Nothing is more normal for human beings than acquiring languages; if the formal aspects of the language code become, however, the sole object of language teaching, aspects which are not even observed by language users in normal communication, learners intuitively object to the artificial tampering with what they feel to be an integral part of themselves.

Most of the information upon which language teaching has been built has been anecdotal, while the amount of research data has been negligible. The theories of language learning - and teaching - have usually reflected the changes in the governing theories of grammar. It has been assumed that constructs of linguistic description are also relevant units in language processing and language acquisition. However, the only thing that seems to be common to all linguistic theories is the fact that they do not represent the way people process and acquire languages.

The research into the interrelationship between a language learner's mother tongue and the language to be learned has been handicapped by problems which seem to relate to two sets of factors:

(1) Little or no attention has been paid to the true nature of language learning and language acquisition in the light of what is known about speech communication, speech processing systems and human interaction; and

(2) Linguists and linguistically oriented psychologists have seldom gone beyond the features embedded in the verbal code - often grammar in a very narrow sense - in their search for problem points in language learning.

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[*] This paper is a revised version of a paper read at the First Nordic Interlanguage Symposium at Hanasaari in August, 1979.

As a whole, the product available for pedagogical purposes from enormous quantities of research in contrastive analysis, error analysis, and interlanguage and related studies is surprisingly meager, and it seems that, even if the field has developed in the light of previous studies and as a result of changes in the framework of linguistic research, we still cope with problems whose solutions can be regarded as partial answers only. Theoretical and methodological restructuring is necessary before problems in second/foreign language learning/acquisition can be approached from a viewpoint which makes pedagogical applications possible. What has sometimes been labelled as performance analysis with its interest in strategies of second language learning and second language communication has been an important step in the right direction from the narrow confines of error analysis. Similarly, studies in the input/intake phenomena in second language acquisition research have meant an adoption of a more dynamic approach towards these problems through their emphasis on various communicative elements in interactional situations. It seems however that an overall framework should now be developed that would comprise all relevant aspects.

The main target of the work for pedagogical purposes should be the phenomena which are characteristic of a "bilingual" speaker using L2 as compared to his use of L1, and the native speaker's reaction to such a speech performance as well as the non-native reaction to the native's speech. Cross-language communication analysis[1] cannot rely on linguistics alone. Since it works with similarities and differences in human verbal and non-verbal codes and with the clash of the two codes in the language-behaviour of a foreign language student, it will have to absorb both theoretical perspectives and practical methodology from various branches of the disciplines which deal with language and speech or human behaviour in general. The theory and methodology of linguistics used must inevitably be supplemented by disciplines such as sociology, psychology, neurology, and applied mathematics, as concerns the analysis and description of pragmatic patterning, cognitive mechanisms, perception, and information-processing systems in man. These objectives are largely parallel to the goals of sciences which generally aim at the examination of various aspects of human communication.

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[1] Cross-language communication analysis (CLCA) is a term we have adopted for the kind of approach that is described in this paper, to replace the term "contrastive analysis".

The major tasks of cross-language communication analysis in the near future involve two primary areas of research:

(1) research on cross-language interaction to deal with problems that are related to the communicative interactional situation, and to find answers to the question of how language learners develop the ability to produce the right kind of cues, both linguistic and non-linguistic, and the ability to interpret similar cues correctly; and

(2) research on the problems related to the level of message processing in the language learner, which involves a primarily psycholinguistic approach to deal with the phenomena beyond the horizon of consciousness (it is obvious that this work cannot be divorced from what is known of learning strategies, motivation, and similar factors).

FAILURE OF TRADITIONAL CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Traditional contrastive linguistics failed for many reasons. The starting-point for CA was not the best possible, because early CA was closely connected with structuralism and structuralists emphasized the importance of the internal structure of each individual language. Descriptions of individual languages were necessary for efficient CA but such descriptions generally reflected the development of linguistic theory, which is not always the best possible basis for the contrasting of languages. In many cases, the result was a highly abstract parallel analysis of two languages, in which the reality of the language learner was forgotten: purely theoretical CA analysis was performed for the purposes of language teaching, and many contrastive descriptions were derived from models of competence without any link to the performance of individual users of the languages contrasted.

Traditional CA involves a static view of interlingual contrasts. The source and target languages are regarded as equal for the learner, and the learner's position in relation to the target language is considered stable. Language learning is not seen as a process: the language contrasts established are contrasts between final products and not between intermediate stages before the final product is reached. James (1979:79) also calls attention to this problem. He criticizes the CA analysis hypothesis for operating "in a static paradigm which erroneously suggests that just as two static and total descriptions (of NL and FL) are juxtaposed, so also the learner of a FL is exposed to that FL suddenly and in its entirety. This is a fallacy of course, since it is obvious that learners of a FL, whether in a classroom or in the foreign country, are in reality only gradually exposed." In addition to this psycholinguistic fallacy, there is another which relates to the non-static nature of human interaction. The roles of the speaker and the hearer have been neglected, and no attention has been paid to the fact that in interactional situations the main objective is getting the message through. Both parties are normally pervaded by a willingness to understand (see Jordan and Fuller 1975), which, in many cases, requires the establishment of a quantity of ad hoc rules, also in interaction which takes place in the native language.

The inability of CA to meet its non-theoretical objectives has been one of the centres of criticism. Enough evidence is available of the existence of foreign accents in the speech of non-native speakers, and most of these accents can easily be localized. Thus the basic idea behind the contrasting of languages cannot be wrong. Therefore the source of the problem must be sought in the insufficiency of the parameters of grammar to solve problems which are not linguistic. This statement sounds so self-evident that it is almost absurd. Yet it is something that has not been noticed by generations of contrastive and other linguists. The only explanation that can be offered derives from the fact that restrictions of the verbal code and the link of this code with what goes round it has been found only recently. Error analysis was offered as a substitute for CA, to solve the problems evident in the CA hypothesis, and later error analysis was expanded towards the observation of language learning processes in interlanguage studies. In both of them, however, the code-centred approach prevailed, and little progress was to be expected towards the adoption of a wider framework.

The interrelationship between CA and the theories of language acquisition/learning, which are beginning to emerge, has been rather vague. There are only few attempts at connecting the two (the Kiel project (see Wode 1979) and the Copenhagen PIF project are exceptions). Traditional methodology of contrastive analysis fails to see the non-native speaker's speech performance in the wider framework of a bilingual speaker's attempt at communicative success. In most cases, contrastive analysis has concentrated on abstract and atomistic structural topics, and the supplementation of CA by contrastive textlinguistics or discourse analysis has meant expansion of the research interests to cover categories beyond the sentence boundary but a basically structure-centred orientation has prevailed. In all this work - similarly also in error analysis and interlanguage studies - grammar and grammatical categories have been given a primary position in human communication. They have been granted an autonomous status above everything else that makes it possible for people to interact, and most of the material which has been used to make inferences about a human being's ability to acquire and learn languages has been gathered in view of this autonomous status of grammar. Very little attention, if any, has been directed towards pragmatics, the ways in which people are able to cope with their needs of communication in the mother tongue and in foreign/second languages.

The primary role of language is that of a means of communication in human interaction; in addition to the parallel descriptions of grammatical structures, the differences and similarities in the processes which take place in the speaker and the listener during acts of communication will have to be mapped across languages. Cross-language communication analysis should thus cover all the channels of communication that are part of human communication behaviour in interactional settings, both verbal and non-verbal:

> ...the so-called extralinguistic and nonverbal aspects of communication aren't mere window-dressing that accompany sentences optionally but a fundamental ingredient of the process by which people decode and encode messages. Many propositional and symbolic components of communicative interactions are not expressed by linguistic means but rather by way of conventionalized manual gestures, body movements, facial expressions, and prosodic elements beyond phonology. (Lamendella 1977:158).

Language is used by individuals for definite purposes, which are related to the speaker's intentions in some specific time and environment. This implies that any elements that make part of an utterance or some other behavioural phenomenon are situation-specific. Before any 'contrastive' analysis of the linguistic codes can be carried out, the codes have to be located in their proper place in the speech communication processes across languages, which requires analysis of similarities and differences in the processes of communication, in the rules of interaction, and in the use of various non-verbal means in communication between two sociocultural settings.

One of the crucial questions in contrastive analysis has been the choice of the reference model: should it be traditional, structural, or generative grammar, and which variety? The practical choice is eclectic: such grammatical theories are applied as seem to give the best explanation for each problem.

It was typical of structural linguistics that it was designed to solve the complexity of problems involved in the description and analysis of language and human communication by means of an atomistic, or elementaristic method: the entity was split into more controllable subsystems, the well-known levels of grammar; simultaneously the variation in real language communication was swept away by choosing high enough a level of resolution, a suitable level of '-emes'. Accordingly, structural CA was - and, for the most part, still is - a comparison of equivalent structures on the levels of phonology, morphology, or syntax. But, and this is more important, structuralism has had a strong influence on the principles of language teaching and on the linguists' opinions of the importance of various factors to be taught as language.

The confusion between the items of linguistic analysis and the items of language teaching was fateful because structures and items which were found to be fundamental in the structuralistic analysis were regarded as basic elements also in language teaching. In the teaching of pronunciation, for instance, this meant that phonetic differences were divided into phonological and allophonic; phonological errors were regarded dangerous, while allophonic errors were not considered important because they were not seen to affect the meaning of the utterance. In prosody, features with distinctive functions were taught with special emphasis, eg., in English oppositions like ˈimport vs. imˈport, or sentence pairs with 'distinctive' intonation patterns "tune 1" and "tune 2". Non-distinctive features were not regarded important in structuralistic teaching materials. The core of the matter was, however, the fact that structuralism legitimized the teaching of the structures of various levels of grammar in isolation.

The breaking up of the subject matter into autonomous levels and the teaching of each of them in isolation was precarious in two respects:

(1) The assumption that the constructs of linguistic description, such as phonemes, morphemes, and junctures, were also relevant units in linguistic processing - or in the process of language acquisition - was quite ad hoc. As a matter of fact, today it is far from self-evident that these parameters have anything to do with the processing of information in communicative tasks. Most work on language teaching analysis related to the isolation of autonomous levels of description gives the impression that learners have the ability to create concrete representations on the basis of abstractions that are taught to them. In language acquisition, the true state of affairs is exactly the reverse: the language acquirer builds up his language system on the basis of the concrete representations round him. So, the system works from the concrete to the abstract, and not from the abstract to the concrete.

(2) Contrastive analysis as derived from structuralist principles implies that a language learner has the ability to synthesize the abstract categories isolated by linguistic analysis into a coherent and functional system in communication. Typical structuralist (or generativist) teaching materials are built upon analytical phonological, morphological and syntactic structural drills under the presumption that after the learner has 'automatized' the 'structures' or 'transformation rules' of each grammatical level, he will also be able to synthesize, in natural situations of language use, fluent speech automatically on the basis of the information he has about the hierarchical levels in the grammar of the language in question. This is exactly the typical theoretical motivation behind pattern-practice drills (see Lamendella 1979), an extreme example of the isolation of categories. Lamendella (1979) questions the validity of drills for the facilitation of the second language acquisition process:

> For most students, pattern-practice drills lead to Foreign Language Learning in which acquired behavioral subroutines

> for phonology and grammar may be evoked automatically only in further classroom exercises. Conversational interactions for such learners typically require conscious direction, with speech behaviour produced under the direction of the cognition hierarchy. In consequence, the students' performance does not reliably lead to communicative success. (Lamendella 1979:18).

Most of the criticism that Lamendella directs against pattern-practice drills can easily be generalized to concern any language teaching methodology or research on language teaching which relates to structuralistically analytical and atomistic theories.

THEORY OF CROSS-LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION.

It is quite understandable that the linguist's attention has been focussed on the linguistic code. This does not however legitimize the assumption that categories and phenomena abstracted for a linguistic analysis of the code are constructs that can be transferred as such to the analysis of speech perception and speech processing (cf. Clark and Clark 1977:190). This is strongly emphasized by Ladefoged (1977:410): "...although linguists may be able to define units all the way up from bundles of features to prosodies of sentences, it is by no means clear what use is made of these units in communicative acts."

The choice of the reference model concerns the model to be used in the description and the choice between a static and dynamic view of language. The latter relates to the choice between a linguistic and a psycholinguistic description, or between a structural and an operational modelling of the communicative vehicle, ie. language and the chain of speech (cf. Lehtonen 1978; see also Davis 1978). The former (the structural model) aims at describing the abstracted and idealized structure of language, which, for our present purposes, means similarities and differences in the structures, or grammars, of two or more languages. An essential presupposition for the understanding of the dynamic view of language is the insight that grammatical rules, syntactic as well as phonological, are regarded only as descriptions of certain regular structures of language but not as models for the mental processes people actually use in speaking and listening (cf. Clark and Clark 1977:190ff.).

The target of an operational model of language is language in action. In perception, linguistic information is not processed 'hierarchically' by proceeding step by step through the levels of grammar from a concrete level of representation to phonology and syntax, and further to abstract 'meaning'. Instead, the components of the system which exploit the hearer's phonological, syntactic, and pragmatic knowledge work simultaneously in terms of a time-sharing system. This model implies that there are 'cues' for all levels of grammar in the flow of speech waves and the information involved is not present in the actual speech coded through phonology alone. Corresponding factors are also present in the process of message production, which, similarly, cannot be seen to be a chain of steps leading from higher linguistic levels through syntax and phonology to phonetics and actual physical speech. In perception, lexicon, syntax, and phonological structure all act as a set of constraints which reduce the number of probable 'guesses' in the process of linguistic identification of the acoustic speech input. The knowledge-driven process is simultaneous with the input-driven analysis. In addition, there is a retroactive reworking effect, where the perception of a word or a sequence of words is changed afterwards on the basis of the subsequent context. These are all processes which are not normally accessible to consciousness. We only perceive the single final option, and not the preceding multitude of choices.

Besides the shift away from the predominance of purely linguistic factors to communicative ones another shift is also necessary. Since learning L2 means an expansion of communicative competence into the area of another code, the learner's role requires more attention. Recent literature on second language acquisition (see, eg., Hatch 1977 and Hakuta and Cancino 1977) is mainly concerned with learners acquiring second languages in natural settings. Recent research presents a fairly uniform picture of the acquisition sequence of certain English morphemes (see Krashen 1977). Children do not however acquire morphemes but a means to communicate their needs. There is some evidence now of the fact that successful language acquirers are more concerned with communication than with form (see eg., Fillmore 1976), and parents pay attention to the children's messages and not to their grammar (see Snow and Ferguson (eds.) 1977; Waterson and Snow (eds.) 1978). Detailed analysis of the input/intake system and research based on discourse entities and on various communicative and other functions of linguistic elements may reveal new relationships between L1 and L2.

In some recent work on how people acquire second languages, a difference has been made between conscious language learning (memorization of rules) and unconscious acquisition, which results from exposure to the target language (similarly to first languages). Krashen's (1978) Monitor Model, for instance, is an attempt ot synthesize the information available about the two processes. According to Krashen, speech performance is always initiated by means of the acquired system and the learned system is available as a monitor for editing the output. Thus in acquisition-poor environments a speaker must rely on his L1 competence as a performance initiator. The initial L1 string is then 'translated' into an L2 string, whose grammaticality and acceptability depend on the availability of 'rules' and on the nature of the constraints present. If acquisition is optimal, the L2 string is initiated and processed on the basis of the acquired L2 system without the interference of the Monitor. There are two extremes: at one end we have total acquisition, which results in native-like performance without any L1 influence, and at the other end we have a language system in L2 which is based entirely on explicit memorization of rules, sufficient for the production of acceptable L2 strings under favourable circumstances.

Most L2 speakers are located somewhere between the two extremes; at least occasionally they have to rely on the L1 systems for speech reception and production. This is the case when an L2 unit has not been acquired and the monitor fails to give the right answer. There may be no rules, the rules may not have been 'taught', the rules may be wrong, or the speaker may apply 'wrong' rules belonging to either L1 or L2 (or a third language). L1 influence on L2 surface strings may be due to the fact that (1) the string has been initiated by the acquired L1 system and the monitor has not been able to correct the string, (2) the monitor lacks the correct 'rule' and an L1 rule is used as a repair, or (3) strings originally initiated with correct L2 acquired systems are mutilated by the learned system (see Sajavaara 1978b). The L1 and L2 acquired and learned systems are closely interlinked, and both systems are referred to several times during speech production, which may result in highly variable performance by the same speakers in different situations.

THE METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Most of the previous research in this area has dealt with the final product, the surface string, only, and the processes that create this string remain obscure for the most part. There is an urgent need to develop methodology to study the stages before the actual utterance, because such information may be highly valuable for the revision of language teaching methodologies. Initially we can start by replicating certain studies carried out by psychologists on the psychological basis of speech, such as experiments with prevented audiomonitoring and delayed auditory feedback (Mahl 1972). On the basis of Labov's (1970) findings it could be hypothesized that prevented audiomonitoring would result in the increase of L1 influence in the speech of non-native speakers whose acquisition level is low. The preliminary experiments with Finnish speakers of English using delayed feedback and prevented audiomonitoring which were carried out by the Finnish-English cross-language research programme gave conflicting results and more material is needed before any conclusions can be drawn. Simultaneously, research has also been undertaken by means of various kinds of shadowing tests using target-language stimuli and by means of experiments with masking noise in different kinds of interactional situations. Other methods are however needed in which the functioning of various processing mechanisms could be observed.

The capacity of the tests which are at present available for revealing the 'critical' points in the interlanguage speech channel is still rather limited, partly because we still lack an integrated picture of the mechanisms functioning in the transfer of information in normal language communication. An indirect way of approaching the problems of foreign language speech perception is through the analysis of the student's speech production. Deviations from the target in the production of the features which are known to function as cues for syntactic or semantic processing of utterances reflect corresponding difficulties in perceptual processing. Similarly, if some native-language features break through the pronunciation of the foreign language, the student may also be expected to apply the same cues when he is trying to process messages in the foreign language. Some quite unexpected elements may be confused with each other. For instance, a Finn may meet difficulties in learning the fortis/lenis distinction of English consonants as a result of the long/short distinction of Finnish vowels; errors in the pronunciation of certain sounds may be heard as changes in the stress pattern of the words, and so on (see Lehtonen and Sajavaara (eds.)1979). Differences in the way in which two languages signal higher-level information such as morphological and syntactic patterns, lexical units or even textual features like topicalization can also result in interference in speech communication. For instance, the process of how a lexical word is detected in English may be somewhat different from that used in Finnish as a consequence of linguistic differences between a primarily isolating language (English) and an agglutinating one (Finnish). Various peripheral phenomena of human speech, such as the movements of the organs of speech or speech acoustics, are quite easily accessible, but we lack methods of studying the cognitive processes involved in language use which are in some way or another represented in the central nervous system. Information is needed, for instance, of various strategies of discourse planning, which is available through research on speech errors in the learner's mother tongue and foreign language. The slips of the tongue in L1 and L2, such as spoonerisms and malapropisms but also other kinds of error (eg. errors in sentence stress, hesitations, false starts, repeats, corrections, etc.; cf. Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1978, Lehtonen 1979), can be considered symptomatic and they can be expected to reveal certain aspects embedded in the processes before the final product.

When we move to research dealing with production and perception, the application of instrumental methods becomes the more difficult the 'higher' the phenomenon we want to study is in the speech chain. However, certain methods which are within the reach of a 'contrastive' linguist are relevant in the analysis and testing of 'higher level' linguistic problems such as sentence construction, conveyance of meaning through grammatical constructions and the speech chain, and the progress of discourse in real time.

The acoustic signal of speech can be recorded on tape and analyzed by means of several acoustic research apparata. The Jyväskylä Cross-Language Project has developed an apparatus for the study of discourse which makes it possible to describe discourse in a form of an on/off signal on the real time-axis (see the other papers in this volume). The advantages of this kind of description as compared with traditional transcription are evident: In this method, we have access to the analysis of the distribution of speech performance in time, which is an integral element in the linguistic behaviour of man. This information is of special value in the analysis of discourse dynamics and tests in which information about reaction time, time of hesitation, location of pauses, etc., are needed. The four-channel apparatus designed for the analysis of discourse makes possible the recording and analysis of simultaneous speaking turns (eg., simultaneous starts, feedback moves of the listeners, and completions) as well as the chronemics of the discourse in general, which has so far been a parameter neglected in the analysis.

Phenomena to be studied include language behaviours in various interactional situations, ability to use different channels of communication to convey messages and intentions, and ability to understand and interpret messages transmitted by other interactants in communication. In this research, the linguistic code and the grammatical structures embedded in the code have an instrumental function only. The proper use of language structures is indeed an integral part of a native speaker's proficiency, but in the processes that lead to such a proficiency, the structures of the linguistic code are subordinated to various communicative strategies.

Initially, small-group interaction in seminar-like settings and classroom interaction have been chosen as primary targets, but some research has also been carried out on casual conversations (Ventola 1978, 1979). Several individual studies have been started, and three interactional situations have been examined in them: (1) situations involving dyadic communication, eg. phone calls; (2) small-group interaction in which there are a maximum of four participants; and (3) classroom interaction. The materials from situations (2) and (3) are collected by means of videotaping.

Through the automatic processing of the material, a discourse map is produced where each participant's involvement is indicated by the shifts of the on/off signal. At the next stage the utterances of all participants are added to the map, and the verbal element can finally be supplement by various kinesic and other parameters which are derived from the videotape. In addition, an audiotape is recorded on which each participant's utterances are channelled separately; it can be used for the instrumental analysis of various paralinguistic features such as stress and intonation (for a more detailed discussion see Sajavaara, Lehtonen and Korpimies 1979; see also Sajavaara 1978a).

Two approaches using the communicative perspective can be found in our pilot studies. One is the analysis of the linguistic and paralinguistic behaviour of speakers in communicative situations of a non-interactive nature, eg. the reading of texts of varying complexity or the free delivery of speech during various types of narration tasks (for preliminary results see Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1978, and Lehtonen 1978a). The other approach is the description of the communicative behaviour of native speakers and students - or schoolchildren - in different interactional situations. Particular emphasis has been laid on the problems connected with the non-native speaker's fluency as contrasted to that of the native speaker (see Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1978, 1979, and Sajavaara 197[illegible]).

CONCLUSION

Communication is a two-way phenomenon, and a speaker's performance is conditioned by what the hearer does or does not do, ie. by the linguistic and other cues which the hearer receives from the speaker and produces in connection with the communicative act. In communicative situations, persons assume several roles, but for FL speakers the roles are more restricted than for native speakers: in most cases, for instance, the typical social situation is a stranger talking to a stranger and most of the social criteria found in connection with L1 do not apply. The social roles are reduced to a foreigner's role, and hereby native speakers' expectations become quite different from what they are towards other native speakers. A foreigner may, for instance, be given more time for the formulation of his message. Moreover the conversational mechanisms which govern the interchange of textual roles, ie. the turn-taking system, do not function in the same way as they function between native speakers: a native speaker talking to a non-native speaker is more prepared to wind up the non-native speaker's sentences during and after hesitations and pauses and to give reformulations.

A non-native speaker seldom achieves a symmetrical position with the native speaker (see Ventola 1977). A non-native speaker talking to a native speaker retains, in most cases, the participatory role of the respondent: he is less active, and is more willing to cede the role of the initiator to the native speaker. It is to be expected that a non-native speaker's role as a foreigner and as a respondent will influence reactions to what can be described as parameters of fluency.

Cross-language communication analysis means comparison of the interaction of two communicative systems. Such research implies the concept of communicative structures, and such structures involve phenomena that go beyond mere grammatical structures. The objective of what was originally devised as contrastive analysis thus expand to the establishment of the similarities and differences in the way in which ideas and messages are conveyed through the chains of communication in the two or more languages (see also Sajavaara 1977).

Traditional linguistic contrastive research is still necessary for gathering information about various subdisciplines of linguistic analysis (phonetics, syntax, semantics, lexicon, and text), but the intelligibility of messages must be studied in communicative situations with respect to various criteria drawn from these subdisciplines. Research in which both correct and deviant elements are observed is needed on the L1 and L2 discourse of the same informants.

Psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic research is needed on the decisions which a speaker-hearer is expected to make to produce acceptable utterances in given social situations. The influence of insufficient competence on communication should be studied, including the total effect of fluency and disfluency. Contrastive information is needed on the influence of the variation of the two languages on the cross-language phenomena, as well as on the roles of the speaker-hearer and the norms affecting the speech situation. Various attitudinal and emotive factors also need to be investigated.

By methods which have been discussed above it may be possible to specify the features which characterize native and non-native speaker performance, important for cross-language communication. It would be a crude simplification of the real state of affairs to believe that good language competence is always materialized in fluent speech. A person who may govern the nuances and complexities of literary expression skillfully may be incapable of good speech performance, and another person whose vocabulary and command of structural options are rather restricted may be able to carry out fairly efficient communication by using the restricted means of expression with great skill. If the communicative processes meet the listener's expectation, what is needed for the assessment of acceptable language-behaviour is an appraisal of what sort of responses various phenomena in a speaker's performance trigger in the hearer. It is not necessary to pay much attention to the correctness of grammatical structures and absence of grammatical errors. Teaching proper language behaviour involves teaching the pragmatics of a given language. In this respect there is not much difference in the mother tongue and in foreign languages. A speaker who commands the communicative strategies in the proper way is able to overcome the critical moments in the flow of communication, while 'strategy failures' in the processing of communication result in disruptions.

Fluency in whatever language is a vague concept. At least two aspects are combined in it: linguistic acceptability and smooth continuity of speech. Fluency seems to equal the communicative acceptability of the speech act ('communicative fit'): its qualities or the demands set upon it cannot be defined from the point of view of the actual message (ie. the text) since the expectations concerning it vary according to the communicative situation.

Learning to speak fluently means learning that communication does not always imply an uninterrupted flow of speech which is sequentially and grammatically irreproachable. The speaker has to 'know' how to hesitate, how to be silent, how to self-correct, how to interrupt, and how to complete his expressions. Speech must meet the expectations of the speech community and represent normal, acceptable and relaxed language behaviour.

Somehow a circle is now closing up. In traditional philological studies, language was observed in a cultural context; in the curricula of univeristy language departments, a great deal of attention was directed to the discussion of the 'background' of the language concerned. Yet, for the purposes of language teaching, the link between language structures and grammar, on the one hand, and the 'background studies', on the other, was never properly established: the teaching of a language always meant the teaching of structures and grammar only. What we know about language and a human being's language-behaviour clearly implies that language is a cultural phenomenon and a social event. Knowing how to use language for communication involves a great number of social culture-bound skills by the side of the traditional language skills. This is something we will have to keep in mind whenever we deal with processes of language acquisition and language learning.

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THE METHODOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF CONTRASTIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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THEORETICAL AND APPLIED CONTRASTIVE STUDIES

Contrastive linguistics has mostly been subordinated to developments in linguistic theory, and with the adoption of a wider angle for analysis, from single morphemes to sentences and texts, contrastive linguistics has also followed suit and various approaches within the framework of discourse analysis or text linguistics have been put forward (see, eg., Hartmann 1978).

Jacek Fisiak pointed out very early (1973) that a distinction has to be made in contrastive studies between theoretical and applied. Contrastive linguistics belongs to pure autonomous linguistics and contrastive studies of this category give us parallel information of two or more languages in terms of certain linguistic criteria, while applied contrastive studies aim at making use of such cross-language information as is relevant for certain practical purposes such as language teaching. One of the problems of the latter type of CA has been an apparent conflict between the methodology applied and the aims of research (see also Sajavaara and Lehtonen in this volume). In most cases, studies of a purely theoretical nature have been carried out also for applied purposes (see Sajavaara 1977).

In the Finnish-English Contrastive Project, contrastive linguistics is taken to mean the scientific study of how people use the two languages for purposes of communication and what are the consequences when the two communication systems clash in the foreign language learner or when used in interactional situations. This kind of contrastive analysis of human speech communication is necessarily a branch of applied linguistics. CA of this type cannot be restricted to the application of linguistics for some practical purposes; it cannot rely on linguistics alone but works with similarities and differences in human verbal and non-verbal codes. Such contrastive analysis will have to absorb various theoretical perspectives and practical methodology from all disciplines which deal with language and speech or human behaviour in general. It will have to include aspects of communication technology, psycho- and neurolinguistics, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, as well as various other aspects of the study of human verbal and non-verbal behaviour in general. In accordance with Ladefoged (1977: 409), an applied contrastive analyst has to be concerned with how people communicate "to explain what people are doing when they talk and listen, and perhaps even what they are doing when they think and talk, and when they listen and understand."

This description of applied contrastive analysis leads to the conclusion that CA is not a special branch of pure linguistics. The expanded objectives of contrastive analysis are parallel to those of the science of speech, which has the analysis of various aspects of speech communication as its objective (see Lehtonen 1978).

The basic aim of linguistics is to formulate a theory of the *structure of language*, the abstract structure which the linguist takes to be the set of norms and rules that 'guide' the reception and production of utterances by all the speakers of a certain language. Such a description may, or may not, be concerned with problems which are called applied above. It is more probable that such problems can be better approached by observing the communicating human being and the interactional situation where language and speech are used (see Lehtonen and Hurme 1980). Utterances (or 'sentences') are not abstractions occurring in isolation; they always have a sender, a receiver, and an intention, and they are always produced in a given situation. 'Propositional' or grammatical information is only a part of the information which is contained in the speech signal, and articulated speech is only one of the communication channels available to human beings. In the words of John Lamendella, "the so-called extralinguistic and non-verbal aspects of communication aren't mere window-dressing that accompany sentences optionally but a fundamental ingredient of the process by which people decode and encode messages. Many propositional and symbolic components of communicative interactions are not expressed by linguistic means but rather by way of conventionalized manual gestures, body movements, facial expressions, and prosodic elements beyond phonology" (Lamendella 1977: 158).

The fundamental difference between theoretical and applied CA lies in the basic motivation for such studies. While theoretical contrastive studies strive for generalizations in the description of the structures of two or more languages, applied contrastive studies will have to start from the individual, his attitudes, motivations, and needs, and all the communicative means which he applies to reach his goals. Accordingly, the informants cannot be anonymous 'typical' speakers of Finnish and English reading a text compiled by the investigator in a laboratory; individuals are needed, both as speakers and as listeners, and their motivations, attitudes and knowledge in a given time, space, and social setting will have to be taken into account, all of which influence the form and content of the messages in the discourse.

We have discussed the shortcomings of a purely linguistic approach to applied CA elsewhere (Sajavaara 1977, 1978; Lehtonen 1978; Sajavaara and Lehtonen in this volume).

CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS RECONSIDERED

The limitations of traditional contrastive analysis are evident today. For several reasons its method of describing the grammars of two languages as abstract collections of rules divorced from their users is insufficient. The fundamental role of a human language is to function as a means of communication in human interaction. Therefore the task of CA cannot be a mere parallel description of two grammatical structures; it should also involve the description of the entire chains of communication in the two languages. This means that the analyst must, in addition to the description of the grammatical structures, make an attempt to map the differences and similarities in the processes which take place in the speaker and in the listener during speech communication. Language is used by individuals for definite purposes, and its use is linked with the intentions of the speaker in some specific time and environment. The use of language is always part of human interaction; this aspect of language, the similarities and differences in the rules of discourse in interaction, must also be included in CA.

This kind of CA clearly differs from the traditional methodology of contrastive analysis, which centres on the problem of deviance in the structural programming of the target language and which mostly does not see the non-native speaker's speech performance in the wider framework of a bilingual speaker's attempt at communicative success (see Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1980). Early contrastive analysis concentrated on rather abstract structural topics. More recently, contrastive analysis has been extended to studies dealing with what has been labelled as contrastive textlinguistics or contrastive discourse analysis. Even if the analysis has been expanded to cover categories beyond the sentence boundary, a structure-centred orientation has prevailed and in most cases the problems of a language learner have been simply transferred to a higher level of a hierarchical structure.

A communicative approach to cross-language phenomena based on a speech-scientific framework calls attention to the language behaviour of the human being in various interactional situations, to his ability to use different channels of communication to convey messages and intentions, and to his ability to understand and interpret messages transmitted by the other interactants in communication. The linguistic code and the grammatical structures embedded in the code have an instrumental function only. The proper use of language structures is obviously an integral part of language proficiency; in the processes that lead to proficiency, the linguistic code is subordinated to communicative strategies. Traditional CA has obviously been too abstract to specify the difficulties of a foreign language speaker in his attempt to use L2 for speech communication. The real 'contrast' takes place in the learner and, therefore, the interaction between a Finnish speaker of English and non-Finnish (not necessarily native) speaker of English, for instance, has to be studied as a whole. Attention must be paid to factors which make it possible for a Finn to understand messages in English, and to make himself understood. Attempts to delimit factors which characterize a Finnish speaker of English, for instance, in contrast to other non-native speakers are an essential part of such research. It presupposes a careful and detailed comparison of Finnish and native English speech and of communicative and language behaviour in both Finnish and English by the same Finnish informants.

Contrastive analysis is not the best label for this kind of research, since it is not concerned with the description of equivalent structure patterns of two languages but an analysis of cross-language interaction and a search for the reasons for the difficulties and failures in the use of the foreign language by the student. Contrastive analyses of grammatical structures are still needed but they are supplemented by analyses of various psychological and sociological aspects of linguistic interaction. The former comprise the study of differences and similarities in the information-bearing features of the acoustic speech signal, differences and similarities in the cues of perception, and sources in the perceptual patterning of speech and foreign accent from the viewpoint of the foreign speaker-hearer and the native hearer, and differences and similarities in linguistic interaction, which will cover the discourse behavior of native and non-native speakers, including features such as tempo, pauses, paralinguistic and kinetic elements, and various pragmatic, structural and semantic paradigms in their communicative function within discourse. The sociological aspects involve the social context, the environmental relations or proxemics, and other factors which affect the choice of the discourse register and modify the attitudes, communicative intentions, and responses of the participant in the discourse.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

An important shift occurred in the theoretical perspective of language study when the focus of interest was transferred from the structure of language to its functions. In order to interrelate linguistic form, semantic interpretation, and pragmatic use for the understanding of how people communicate, it is necessary to go beyond sentence structure. Some attempts to study language in this way are labelled discourse analysis. According to Riley (1977), discourse analysis means the analysis of the linguistic aspects of interaction.

One of the leading principles in what has been termed discourse analysis has been the work on illocutionary acts by philosophers of language. Simultaneously the theoretical focus has shifted from grammar to pragmatics.

Labov (1972) emphasized the functional use of language; the most important step is to distinguish 'what is said from what is done'.

The unit of analysis is not 'clause' or 'sentence', although the unit may frequently consist of a clause or a sentence. Hymes (1974) labels the unit a 'speech act' and claims that it 'represents a level distinct from the sentence and not identifiable with any single portion of other levels of grammar nor with segments of any particular size defined in terms of other levels of grammar'.

Labov (1970, 1972), Schegloff (1968, 1972) and Jefferson (1972, 1973) regard the utterance as the basic unit of analysis. Sinclair and Coulthard (1972) use a smaller unit which they call a move. Moves can be co-extensive with utterances, but some utterances can contain more than one move. Myers (1979) uses the term conversational act and includes both verbal and non-verbal interactive acts.

While the relations between the basic units of discourse are generally agreed to depend on their respective functions, the number of functions varies. Austin (1962) suggests there may be as many as 10,000, Sinclair and Coulthard (1972) postulate only 22, and Searle (1969) suggests an intermediate number.

Illocutionary acts convey the communicative intentions of the addressor. To the extent that the addressee responds in terms of his comprehension of that intention, illocutionary force serves to regulate the interactional process. It is one of the general rules of co-operative conversation that a question is normally followed by an answer. The question-and-answer is a major type of 'adjacency pair' (Schegloff and Sacks 1973), and performance of the first part of the pair is one device for making the addressee take a 'turn' by responding with the second part (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974).

It seems to be that turn-taking behaviour and the recognition of illocutionary force in conversation can be explained in terms of the participants' knowledge of the rules associated with the sequencing of discourse acts (referred to as tactics by Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). It is not yet possible to formulate these rules with any generality, or to say how they relate to corresponding procedures for performing a sequence of discourse acts (Widdowson 1979), but it is nevertheless assumed that they exist. The fact that it has been possible to construct discourse sequences from utterance-length excerpts, has been attributed to the existence of such rules (cf. Abramovici and Myers 1975, Clarke 1975).

One of the problems for discourse analysis is to show how the functional categories are realised by formal items - what the relationship is between 'request' or 'question' and the grammatical options available to the speaker. Sacks and Schegloff assume that their categories are intuitively recognisable from the label, others like Labov attempt to write rules to explain how a given lexico-grammatical structure comes to realise a given function in a given situation.

In spite of the many problems connected with discourse analysis at the present stage, several researchers have found the new field worth exploring. Discourse analysis has been applied to the study of classroom interaction (Sinclair and Coulthard 1972, 1975), intonation (Brazil 1975), literature (Pearce 1977, Coulthard 1977, Burton 1978, Korpimies 1978, 1979), acquisition of language (Bullowa and Jones 1979, Halliday 1979, Hatch 1978, Garvey and Hogan 1973, Shatz and Gelman 1973, Halliday 1975), conversational structure (Keenan 1974, 1975; Widdowson 1979). Moreover, discourse analysis is closely associated to teaching language as communication (Widdowson 1978) and also more specifically to the teaching of language for special purposes (Candlin et al., ms.).

THE STATIC AND DYNAMIC VIEW OF LANGUAGE AND CA

The study of natural speech has often been handicapped by the fact that researchers have neglected the distinction between language as a static system and language as a dynamic communicative vehicle. A structural model describes language as a set of rules abstracted from language data, while a dynamic model aims at a description of the entire communicative vehicle. Adoption of the dynamic view involves a new approach to grammar: grammar is to be seen as one of the constraints - though important - that direct the building-up of utterances. It is not a representation of mental processes (see Sajavaara and Lehtonen in this volume).

Throughout the first decades of the 20th century there was an open conflict in the phonetic sciences between instrumentalists, who relied on physical manifestations of speech, and advocates of 'auditory' phonetics, who based their claims on sophisticated auditory observations. Their observations were never identical. Neither group was wrong; one described the physical stimulus, the other observed the result of auditory perception. The same dichotomy was repeated in the relationship between phonologists and representatives of speech science. Phonologists are engaged in a dispute concerning the reference level of classificatory features: one school claims that the features are principally acoustic, another school is of the opinion that the reference level is that of the articulatory settings, and yet a third that the features are principally neither acoustic nor articulatory but phonological and linguistic and the phonological rules have as little to do with actual neurological and physiological processes in speech as the rules of generative syntax have with actual processes in the human brain in the production and perception of linguistic messages (cf. Buckingham and Hollien 1978; esp. p. 294).

A grammar-centered conception of the speech chain is characteristic of structural linguistics. The conception is based on a hierarchy of grammar or the structural description which starts with the sound wave and then proceeds to more abstract levels of description, which describes the processes of producing and understanding a message: an utterance is processed step by step from one level of the hierarchy of grammar to the following level, with the output of the previous level (eg. the syntactic component) constituting the input of the successive level.

An alternative to the grammar-centered and static model is based on the concept of total communication and on a dynamic view of the speech chain to be examined in detail below (cf. Figure 2).

Grammars are descriptions of structures, not of processes. A grammatical rule is a description of a regularity in the structure of language, not a model for the processes in the brain of the speaker and the listener.

One of the crucial questions for contrastive analysis is that of the reference model: should CA be based on traditional structural or generative grammar and, if so, on which variety? In applied contrastive studies the choice is often eclectic: such grammatical theories are exploited as seem to give the best explanation for each problem. Otherwise, the structures of the two languages can be described consistently in terms of a grammatical theory irrespectively of the explanatory adequacy of the theory. The choice of the reference model should also comprise the choice between a static and a dynamic view of language or, in other words, the choice between a linguistic and a psycholinguistic description, or between a structural and operational modelling of language and communication (see Sajavaara and Lehtonen in this volume).

MODELLING OF SPEECH AND LANGUAGE

During the last ten years, speech science together with some related disciplines such as experimental neurological and psychological studies of language and speech has radically changed the traditional hierarchical view held by linguists of the structure of speech and of the transmission of linguistic information (see Lehtonen 1978). Figure 1 illustrates the traditional view of the hierarchy in the perception of speech: the speech signal undergoes a series of successive transformations whereby the information is recoded into more abstract forms of representation. However, perception of speech cannot be based on the phonological information conveyed through the acoustic speech signal and the recognition process need not proceed in a one-way manner from left to right or from

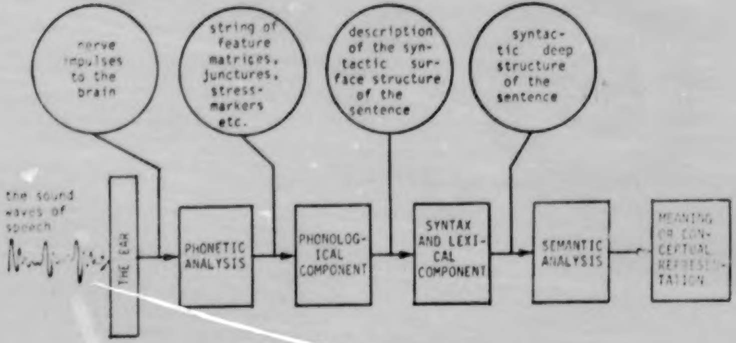
nerve impulses to the brain
string of feature matrices, junctures, stress-markers etc.
description of the syntactic surface structure of the sentence
syntactic deep structure of the sentence
the sound waves of speech
THE EAR
PHONETIC ANALYSIS
PHONOLOGICAL COMPONENT
SYNTAX AND LEXICAL COMPONENT
SEMANTIC ANALYSIS
MEANING OR CONCEPTUAL REPRESENTATION

Figure 1. An imaginary 'hierarchical' model of speech perception or a 'model of successive transformations' (this model is not supposed to represent the actual statements of any 'school'). (From Lehtonen 1978.)

sound-wave to meaning; there is plenty of experimental evidence that language perception does not work in the way described in Figure 1. Recent data from psycholinguistics and information about automatic speech understanding systems make it necessary to reject a strict serial organization and support, instead, the view that the listener processes the message simultaneously on several 'levels' of perception.

Figure 2 represents an alternative model of the speech processing system (cf. Ainsworth 1976: 118). It comprises several features typical of recent psycholinguistic models of human speech perception. As against the hierarchical, input-driven model in Figure 1, this model represents the recognition of the message as not being based on the acoustic signal only: recognition is a result of an active problem-solving task in which the input signal, ie. the message received, is compared with knowledge-driven alternatives. Thus, understanding is not a process of

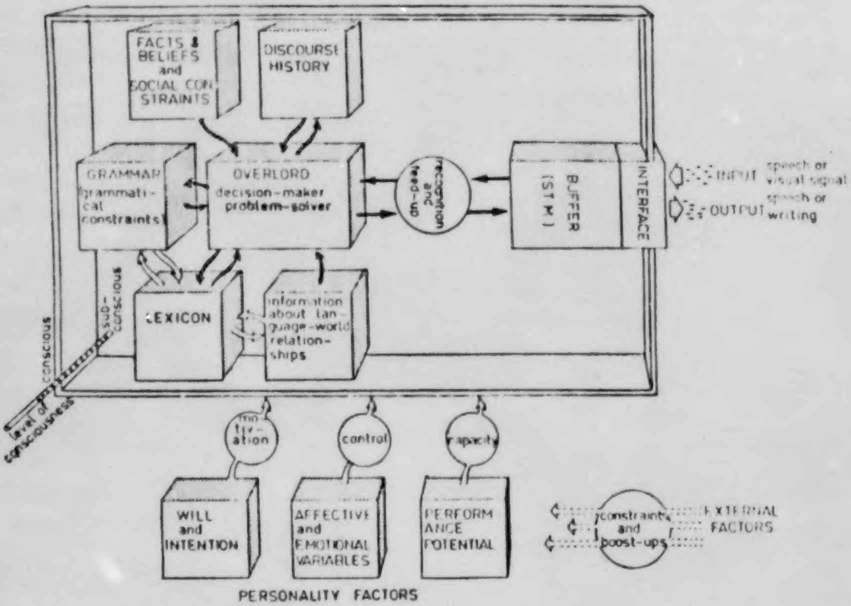
FACTS & BELIEFS and SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS
DISCOURSE HISTORY
GRAMMAR (grammatical constraints)
OVERLORD decision-maker problem-solver
recognition and feed-up
BUFFER (STM)
INTERFACE
INPUT speech or visual signal
OUTPUT speech or writing
LEXICON
information about language-world relationships
sub-conscious
conscious
level of consciousness
motivation
control
capacity
WILL and INTENTION
AFFECTIVE and EMOTIONAL VARIABLES
PERFORMANCE POTENTIAL
constraints and boost-ups
EXTERNAL FACTORS
PERSONALITY FACTORS

Figure 2. A simplified model of message processing.

passive decoding but builds upon active processing, where the listener's knowledge of the phonetic, syntactic, semantic, and social constraints and probabilities all interact (cf. Marslen-Wilson and Welsh 1978).

According to this view of speech processing, in the flow of the sound waves of speech there are cues for the levels of 'grammar'; grammatical and semantic information is not present in the speech waves coded through segmental phonology only, but also in the features which relate directly to 'higher-level' structures. The flow of speech is not just a manifestation of strings of phonemes but also of words, word groups, and sentences as well.

The speech chain refers to the totality of the communication chain, of which only one part is the verbal message. The visual channel, eg. gestures and movements, is also utilised for transmitting messages. The acoustic channel also transmits paralinguistic information, eg. intonation, voice quality, emphasis, etc., in addition to propositional or linguistic information. The description of non-verbal behaviour is not easy in terms of intentionality: only some of the gestures and movements are intentional, ie. addressed to the hearer. Similar physical signals can sometimes be intentional, sometimes unintentional, symptoms and manifestations of the speaker's physiological and emotional state. Certain paralinguistic and extralinguistic features may not be produced intentionally, but it is always possible that the hearer interprets them to be intentional. Similarly, the hearer may misinterpret, or neglect, non-verbal signals sent by the speaker (see Lehtonen and Hurme 1980).

When a speaker has a communicative intention, he considers the potentiality of both the verbal channel and the non-verbal one when planning the message. In speech situations, non-verbal communication can repeat what was said verbally, or contradict verbal behaviour. Non-verbal behaviour can substitute, modify, or elaborate on, verbal messages. Non-verbal behaviour is also used to regulate the communicative flow between the interactants. The way one individual stops talking and another starts in a smooth, synchronized manner may be as important to a satisfactory interaction as the verbal content exchanged (cf. Knapp 1978: 20-26).

A model of the speech chain starts from the motivations and objectives of the speaker in a situation of communicative interaction (cf. Figure 3).

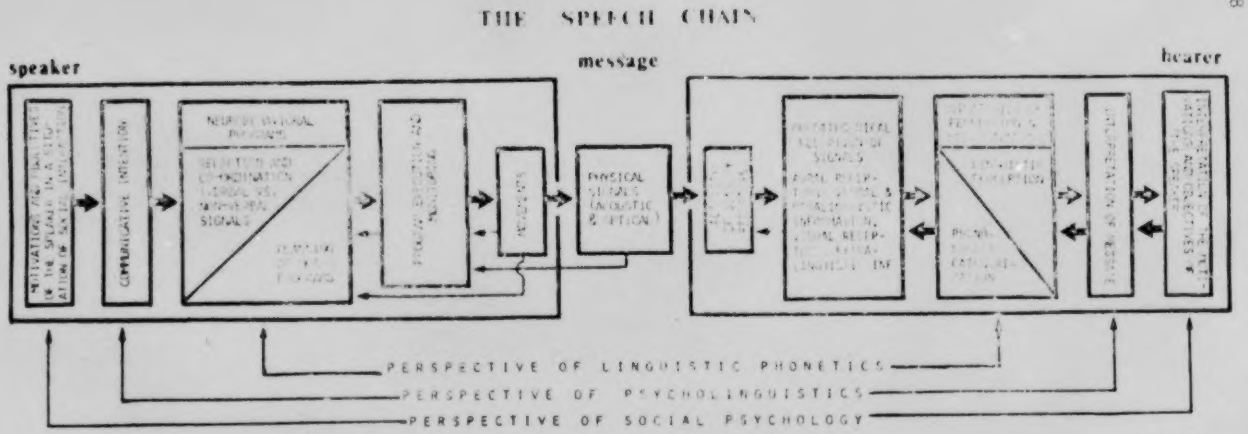
THE SPEECH CHAIN
speaker
message
hearer
MOTIVATIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SPEAKER IN A SITU- ATION OF SOCIAL INTERACTION
COMMUNICATIVE INTENTION
SELECTION AND COORDINATION (VERBAL VS. NON-VERBAL SIGNALS)
SIGNALS
PHYSICAL SIGNALS (ACOUSTIC & OPTICAL)
INTERPRETATION OF MESSAGE
PERSPECTIVE OF LINGUISTIC PHONETICS
PERSPECTIVE OF PSYCHOLINGUISTICS
PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Figure 3. A dynamic model of the speech chain from the perspective of the total communication process. The perspective of psycholinguistics includes the motivations and objectives of the speaker-hearer as well as the intentionality of linguistic behaviour. From the perspective of social psychology, the function of communication in situations of social interaction and, finally in human society with its complex structure and its communicative needs are included in the model. For practical reasons, the model is unidirectional. Communication is interaction between speaker-hearers: accordingly, messages should 'flow' in both directions.

The following section in the chain is occupied by communicative intention, a precisely formulated decision to send a certain message. This is followed by the selection of the neuro-behavioural programme. The neuro-behavioural programmes controlling behaviour in the verbal and non-verbal channels have to be co-ordinated early in the planning stage. An essential part of the planning of the programmes is the linguistic planning of the message. The planning results in motor programmes, and these in turn in movements. Programme execution is accompanied by monitoring, which aims at correcting errors and is made possible by various kinds of feedback (cf. Hurme 1979).

The interpretation of the message (cf. Figure 2) begins with the activity of the sensory systems. Precategorical reception is followed by strategies for perception and understanding, which lead to phonological categorization and linguistic perception. As was pointed out above, the process is not unidirectional: the input-driven analysis of the physical signal is supplemented by the internal knowledge-driven processes. The process results in the interpretation of the message and in the interpretation of the motivations and objectives of the speaker.

Speech production was above described in terms of two stages, the planning and execution of the message. The planning stage can be divided into discourse, sentence, constituent and motor planning (cf. Clark and Clark 1977: 224). First, the speaker has to decide in which kind of discourse he is participating. Through a sentence plan the speaker is able to build a sentence which fits the discourse structure and the communicative intention. After deciding on the overall characteristics of the sentence the speaker starts planning its constituents. He has to choose the words and phrases for each constituent and put them in the right order. As specific words are chosen, a motor programme representing the production of the words is prepared and stored in a buffer memory. Motor programmes are executed by means of mechanisms which take care of the timing of the various sub-processes (cf. Buckingham and Hollien 1978). Ultimately, commands are given to the muscles that participate in speech production.

Feedback about the on-going process is necessary for the smooth running of the complex process of speaking. Many failures in the planning or execution of motor programmes are corrected 'automatically' by the speaker without his being aware of the slip.

The study of the execution and monitoring of motor speech programmes must be carried out in relation to information processing in the central and peripheral nervous system. In the central nervous system there is no functional unit which is specialized only for the processing of linguistic information; units participating in the processing of linguistic information are responsible for other functions as well. The brain makes use of the time-sharing system which was described above.

As language acquisition progresses, the processes of speech planning and execution become more and more automatic; the 'lower levels' of message planning can largely be neglected, while more effort and concentration can be directed to the 'higher levels', the planning and interpretation of the content of the messages. Language use is also automatized to a degree. It is easy to see that utterances do not require an equally high degree of cognitive planning. Much of speaking consists of automatic or ritualistic speech (greetings, curses, proverbs, etc.). Novel speech requires a high degree of cognitive planning. No clear-cut boundary can however be located between automatic and novel speech.

The reception, perception and interpretation of speech is a complex process, the details of which are not known at the present time. Conscious perception and interpretation is only partly based on the sound wave/acoustic speech signal received in the aural receptors. This signal is merely one of the cues used for the recognition of linguistic structures.

After the sensory receptors (cf. Figure 2) have been activated, the first step is precategorical reception: a phonetic pattern is identified and located in preperceptual acoustic storage, which is a kind of a phonetic processing memory. This is followed by phonological categorization and linguistic perception, which are influenced by the phoneme paradigm and the phoneme combination rules of the language in question. The interpretation of the received speech signal is influenced by various 'higher-level' phenomena and functions; the process is not unidirectional (left-to-right in Figure 2). In some experiments, different interpretations were obtained for the physically same speech signal in different contexts and situations, while in some other experiments listeners were convinced that they heard a certain sound despite the fact that it had been removed from the physical speech signal. Speech understanding and interpretation has to be regarded as an active process, dependent on the listener's own activity, rather than a passive consequence of the speech stimulus 'fed into' the system. The input is actually rather worthless by itself; it is only raw material whose interpretation is made possible through the strategies of perception and understanding.

The 'naive' model of speech perception and understanding in Figure 1 emphasizes the importance of the speech input. Sounds and phonemes are abstracted from the input through a process of 'refinement'. Likewise, morphemes, words, sentences and, finally, 'meaning' are abstracted from the phoneme strings. Thus, the process is input-driven in character. The dynamic model in Figure 2 emphasizes the activity of the listener, who utilizes various sources of information in addition to the acoustic speech signal. The sources include the speech situation, context, structur of the language (lexicon, syntax, phonology, etc.), non-verbal cues, etc. The guesses and hypotheses generated by the hearer of the received message are based on these cues.

The dynamic view presented above emphasizes the process character of message production and interpretation, which is possible in situations of social interaction only. Message production does not result from an abstract meaning or thought, which has to be given a linguistic form; it begins with the motivations and objectives of the speaker in a situation of social interaction and with the resultant communicative intention. The 'percept' or the perceived meaning of the speaker's sentences is not the final step in the process of receiving and understanding a message either. The model of human communication includes one more step, which does not figure in the classical model of Shannon and Weaver; it is the stage where the output of the process of perception is transformed into motives, needs, goals, attitudes, and other reactions in the listener (cf. Kharash 1979: 25).

Many impressions of speech events are simplified generalizations derived from the categories of internalized patterns of the rules and structures which we call phonology. The actual physical utterance is not normally heard but a chain of sound segments which correspond to the expectations concerning the utterance. Human perceptions are generally structured by cultural conditioning, education, and personal experience, which result in fallacies concerning the observations: the observations are affected by preconceived ideas of what is to be seen or heard. Perception is moreover constrained by expectations and stereotypes: structures are observed which are known to exist or which the person chooses to observe. For the speaker-hearer, language is a psychologically real structure; this structure acts in perception like an automatically tuned detector which removes from the message all information that is not linguistic (or communicative). In this way, language functions as an earphone through which only language, and not speech, can be heard. Each acoustic speech-signal which is identified as speech is 'heard' as a representative of a given linguistic structure and, as a consequence, the listener is able to perceive consciously only a few of the properties of the signal. However, many of the acoustic cue-features which carry the information necessary for speech perception are subconscious (eg. formant patterns of vowels, consonantal loci and transitions, temporal patterns of the strings of speech-sounds, etc.). The listener can focus on various linguistic structures of the utterance, such as the meaning of the utterance, the syntactic structure, or the phonological structure. Conscious attention can also be paid to certain postures and movements of the speech organs, but the way in which they actually operate during speech and the features in the resulting acoustic speech are beyond the scope of conscious observation. Thus, a great many features in the speech chain are outside the speaker-listener's capacity to monitor consciously the processing of messages.

This has, among other things, important consequences for cross-language analysis: the analyst, and the foreign language teacher, must realize that the way in which they 'see' a certain pattern of the target language need not be similar to the way in which the student perceives the same thing. The teacher should be able to find out what the language student attempts to hear, what he hears, and what the structures are that he perceives, and how these differ from the way in which the native speaker's perception works in similar situations.

INSTRUMENTAL METHODS

The speech chain is a useful concept for the discussion of the instrumental methods available for the analysis and physical description of the cross-language events related to speech communication. Through an analysis of the speech chain an answer is sought to questions such as the transmission of messages from one person to another or the stages through which the message moves from the brain of the speaker to that of the hearer.

Unfortunately, the capacity of tests available for revealing the 'critical' points in the interlanguage speech channel is limited (see Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1980), partly because there is no integrated picture of the mechanisms functioning in the transfer of information in speech communication. The only method of testing speech perception which has been applied to CA has been various identification tests based on minimal word pairs and other traditional methods of pronunciation testing, which are, however, closely related to the taxonomic view of language. There is an indirect way of approaching the problems of foreign language speech perception: the analysis of the student's speech production.

Deviations in the production of the features which function as cues for syntactic or semantic processing of utterances reflect similar difficulties in perceptual processing. If some native-language features interfere in the pronunciation of the foreign language, the student may apply the same cues when processing messages in the foreign language. For instance, a Finn may meet difficulties in learning the fortis/lenis distinction of English consonants as a result of the long/short distinction of Finnish vowels. What a Finn regards as clarity in his pronunciation of English may mean foreign accent and lack of fluency to a native speaker. Errors in certain sounds may be heard as changes in the stress pattern of the words. In most cases, traditional contrastive analysis has lacked the means to explain such cross-language influences.

We can easily study various peripheral phenomena of human speech (movements of the organs of speech or speech acoustics), but we still lack methods for studying the phenomena in the central nervous system. The acoustic signal is an easily accessible stage in the speech chain; it can be recorded on tape and analyzed by means of several acoustic research apparata. But when we move over to problems of production or perception, the task becomes more difficult; the 'higher' the phenomenon which we want to study is in the speech chain, the more problematic it is to find reliable methods of approach. However, certain methods are available for a contrastive linguist which are relevant in the analysis and testing of 'higher-level' linguistic problems (eg. sentence construction, conveyance of meaning through grammatical constructions and the speech chain, progress of discourse in real time). Since it is largely impossible to perceive physical speech events objectively, one of the most important applications of the instrumental methods for CA is the visualization of physical speech events. Two dimensions in particular are important for the analysis and description of linguistic structures larger than sound segments or individual words: these are the time axis of speech and the fluctuation of the fundamental frequency.

Differences in the way in which two languages signal higher-level information such as morphological and syntactic patterns, lexical units or even textual features such as topicalization also result in interference. For instance, the process of how a lexical word is detected in English may be different from that used in Finnish as a result of differences between an isolating language (English) and an agglutinating one (Finnish), although it is not possible to verify this hypothesis by the methods available at present. When it is verified, however, we will have revealed an essential source of difficulty for a Finn in the comprehension of spoken English. This information may also be of considerable importance for attempts to find a way of teaching learners to overcome difficulties which are due to this higher-level interference phenomenon of phonetic processing.

The Finnish-English Contrastive Project has made an attempt to pay attention to the language user's communicative compentence as a whole, including all the linguistic, psychological and sociological parameters that make it possible for people to interact. For this work, information is needed about how a Finn uses Finnish and English in communication, how a native speaker of English understands a Finn's English and how a Finn understands the speech of a native speaker of English. Communicative cross-language analysis of this kind is possible only on the basis of natural speech, and videotaped materials have been collected about various situations of language use. At the first stage, small-group interaction in seminarlike settings and classroom interaction were chosen as primary targets, but some research has also been carried out to deal with casual conversations (Ventola 1978). Several specific studies have been started to examine three interactional situations: (1) situations involving dyadic communication,eg. phone calls; (2) small-group interaction in which there are a maximum of four participants; and (3) classroom interaction. The materials from situations (2) and (3) are collected by means of videotaping. Figure 4 represents the arrangements for a videotaping session in a seminarlike setting.

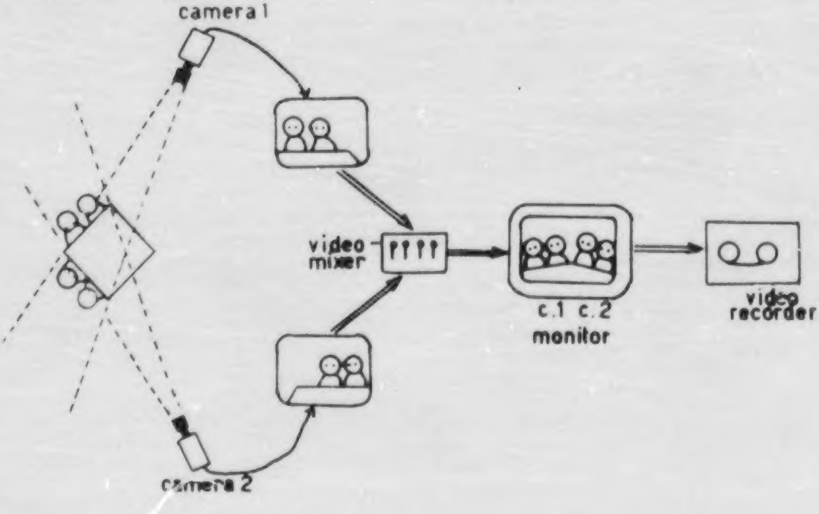

Figure 4. A representation of a videotaping session with two cameras in a seminar setting. The two pictures are mixed into one screen and taped, which allows for a simultaneous observation of a maximum of four speakers.

Figures 5, 6 and 7 illustrate three fragments of discourse described in a form of an on/off signal on the real time-axis. The figures illustrate tracings from a four-channel apparatus designed for the analysis of discourse at the Phonetics Laboratory of the University of Jyväskylä. The apparatus makes possible a recording and analysis of simultaneous speaking turns (eg. simultaneous starts, feedback moves of the listeners, and completions) as well as the chronemics of discourse in general, which has been a parameter neglected in the analysis. The discourse map is produced through an automatic processing of the recorded material. In the map each participant's involvement is indicated by the shifts of the lines recorded (see also Figure 8). The utterances of all participants are added to the map as seen in Figures 5-7.

The verbal element can finally be supplemented by various kinesic and other parameters which are derived from the videotape. A complete map resembles the three strips reproduced in Figure 9. In addition, the audiotape on which each participant's utterances are recorded separately can be used for the instrumental analysis of various paralinguistic features such as stress and intonation.

The advantages of this kind of description as compared with traditional transcription are evident: this method gives access to the analysis of the distribution of speech performance in time, which is an integral element in linguistic behaviour. This information is of special value in the analysis of discourse dynamics and in all tests in which information about reaction time, time of hesitation, location of pauses, etc., is needed.

Telephone dialogues can also be used for various kinds of instrumental analyses. Figures 10-12 illustrate tracings of a fundamental frequency meter as applied in the analysis of discourse intonation. The approaches using the communicative perspective in the pilot studies within the Finnish-English Contrastive Project include the analysis of the linguistic and paralinguistic bahaviour of speakers in communicative situations of a non-interactive nature, eg. the reading of texts of varying complexity or the free delivery of speech during various types of narration tasks (for preliminary results see Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1978, and Lehtonen 1978).

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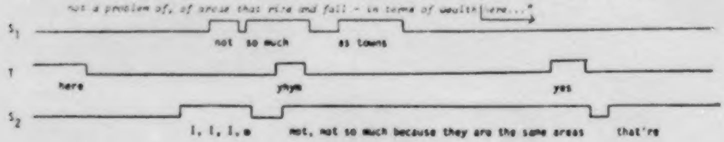
4. (discourse history:)

T summarizes S_1's opinion on competition between urban and rural life-style. S_2 points out that circumstances as in Finland differ from those in the article they had read; there are not such areas that people would consider bad or areas of poor people. Then T goes on "So that there is not a problem of, of areas that rise and fall - in terms of wealth here..."



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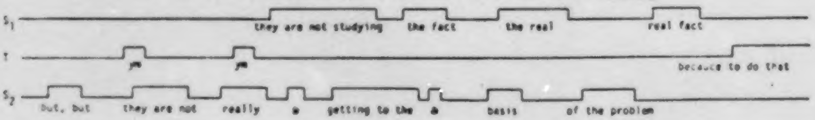
5. (discourse history:)

They are talking about investing programs stating their opinions on the way in which the writer of the article has outlined the programs. S_2 goes on " Yes but I, I think he tries to say that they are, you know, they are just making programs to show that they are doing something but..."



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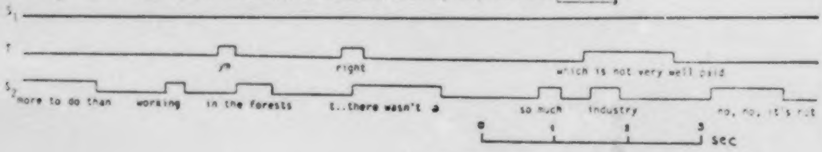
6. (discourse history:)

They are talking about agriculture. S_1 says that farmers stop keeping cows. T mentions unbalance of resources and thinks that the remaining problem is what the people in the farms do instead. S_2 goes on "Yes,yes it is, because t... on those areas there is, there isn't much more to..."



Figures 5, 6, 7. Three fragments of a discourse analyzed using a method in which the speaking turns of each participant are transformed into a binary on/off signal and recorded on paper by means of a level recorder. S_1 and S_2 are two Finnish students of English, T the British teacher.

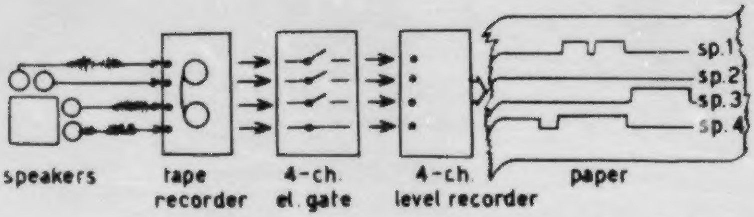


Figure 8. The semiautomatic processing system of audiorecordings. The seminar sessions are recorded using a four-channel tape recorder. Each speaker's utterances are recorded on a different channel. The speaking turns are transformed into a binary on/off signal and recorded on paper by means of a level recorder. The text is then added manually (see Figure 3).

Another method in speech research whose possibilities are far from being exhausted is the testing of the linguistic reactions of the speakers of the two languages. The stimuli for the tests can be either natural speech, instrumentally processed natural speech, or synthetic speech generated by means of a speech synthesizer and/or a computer.

Figure 13 illustrates the results of a preliminary test of certain phonetic cue features whose stimuli were produced by means of a speech synthesizer. There are, of course, lots of problems involved in the composition, execution, and interpretation of such tests as well as in the use of synthetic stimuli, but they can yield results which are unattainable through conventional methodology.

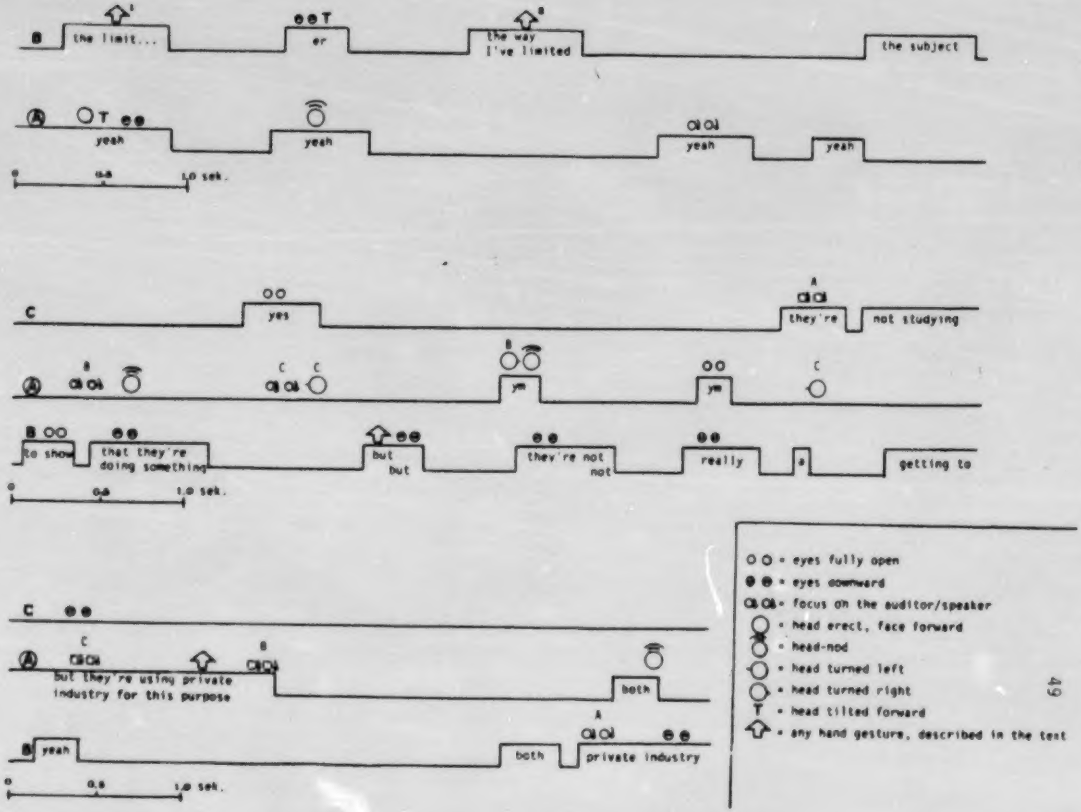
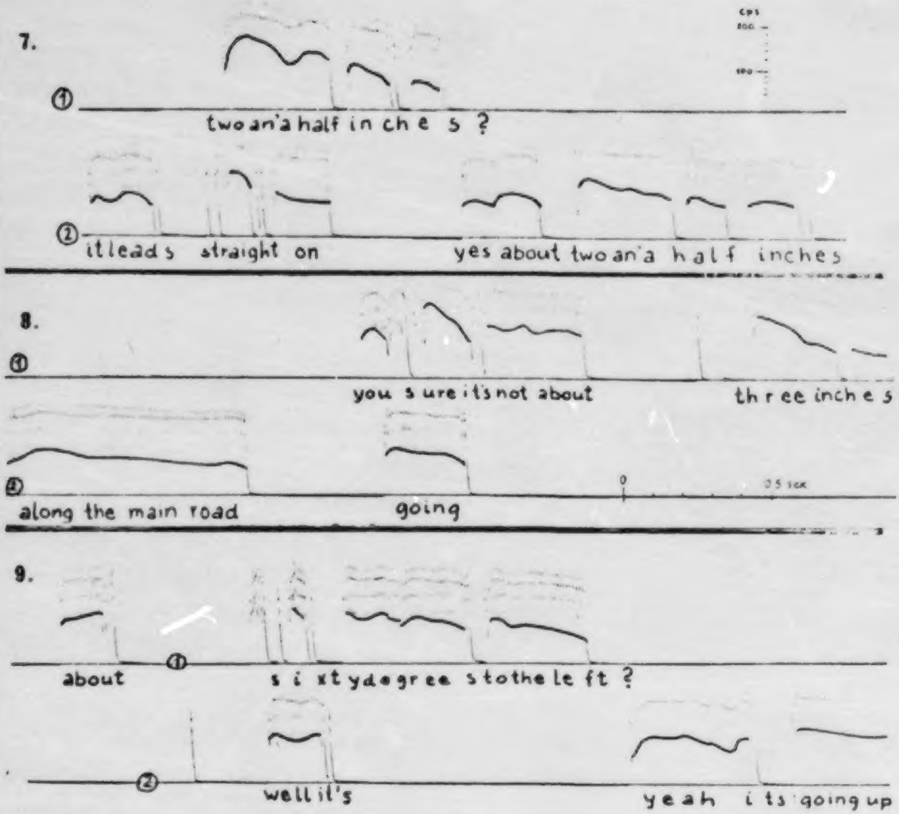

B
the limit...
er
the way I've limited
the subject
A
yeah
yeah
yeah
yeah
0
0.5
1.0 sek.
C
yes
they're
not studying
A
B
C
C
ym
ym
C
B
to show
that they're doing something
but
but
they're not
not
really
a
getting to
0
0.5
1.0 sek.
C
A
but they're using private industry for this purpose
both
B
yeah
both
private industry
0
0.5
1.0 sek.
○ ○ = eyes fully open
● ● = eyes downward
◐◐ = focus on the auditor/speaker
○ = head erect, face forward
○ = head-nod
○ = head turned left
○ = head turned right
T = head tilted forward
⇧ = any hand gesture, described in the text

Figure 9. Three fragments of a discourse map consisting of the speaking turns and kinesies of three participants. Speaker A is a native speaker of English, and B and C are non-native (Finnish) speakers. The technique used makes it possible to study simultaneous speaking turns.



Figures 10-12. Three fragments of a fundamental frequency recording of a spontaneous telephone discourse of two native British male speakers. In each fragment the participants speak simultaneously, which is a rather common phenomenon in natural discourse. Further on, in each case the move of speaker (1) must be interpreted as a yes-no question where a special intonation countour, "tune two", should be applied according to textbooks. Speaker (1) does not, however, use any rising fundamental frequency pattern but a falling pattern of a "declarative" sentence.

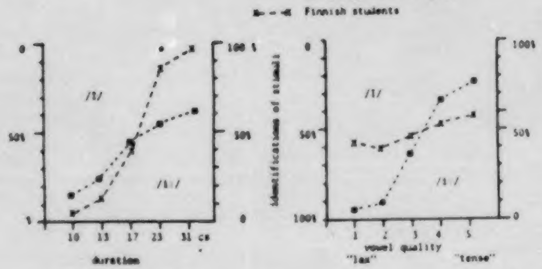


Figure 13. The responses of native speakers of English and Finnish students of English to various cues of the tense-lax distinction. The chart on the left shows the effect of the change of vowel duration on vowel identification. The chart on the right shows the respective responses to changes in the acoustic structure of the vowel. A change in the quality or formant structure was for the native speakers of English the stronger of the two cues tested. The change from a 'lax' to a more 'tense' vowel quality hardly affected the identifications of the Finnish students of English; changes in the duration of the vowel, which affected the identifications of the native speakers only a little, have a dramatic effect on the identifications by the Finns. The test reveals that a Finn does not apply the correct cues of identification when discriminating between tense and lax vowels. The diagrams are based on studies with sythetic speech by Raimo and Suomi (1978). For further discussion and test results, see Lehtonen and Sajavaara (eds.) 1979.

The Jyväskylä Finnish-English Contrastive Project has carried out a number of tests to correlate the communicative behaviour of Finnish speakers of English with that of native speakers. Since the material in which Finns' performance is contrasted with that of native speakers may lead to faulty conclusions about L1 influence, it was also considered necessary to expand the tests to comprise non-native speakers of English other than Finns. Tests have been carried out with speakers at different levels of language proficiency: university students of English; university students of other subjects who have studied English at school before being admitted to the university; students at various commercial colleges whose native language is Finnish, Finland Swedish, or Swedish; and British and American native speakers of English.

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INTERACTIONAL ACTIVITIES IN DISCOURSE BETWEEN NATIVE AND FINNISH SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

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INTRODUCTION

This is a report on research on paralinguistic and kinesic activities[1] that guide the progress of interactional discourse in a foreign language discussion. Two questions were asked at the outset. Firstly, what are the means by which a speaker communicates to his listeners that he will go on speaking or will yield the turn to somebody else? Secondly, what kinds of feed-back signals do the listeners give to convey to the speaker that they are following his message or that they would like to say something?

These two aspects are closely interwoven in a conversation. A discourse is constructed of a series of utterances. What one person says has an effect on what the other person will say when it is his turn to speak. While one person in speaking, the others are communicating in back-channel, ie. they are giving feed-back to the speaker. The content of a speaker's utterance and his way of expressing it have an effect on the course of communication: they influence the feed-back signals and the utterances expressed by the listeners, which for their part guide the speaker's behaviour.

Discussion is composed of moves made by the participants (see Coulthard 1975: 74). Most often the changes of turns (speaker/listener) are the borderlines of moves. When a person takes a turn to express his utterance, he is actually making a move. After his move it is one of the listeners who will make the next move and start speaking. However, adopting the role of speaker is not the only kind of move that can be made in a conversation. A listener can make a feed-back move and still remain a listener, as far as textual roles are concerned (for message moves and feed-back moves, see Ventola 1978).

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[1] The study was begun as a Pro Gradu (M.A.) thesis in English (Saario 1978).

The term *discourse* is here used to refer to the sending and receiving of verbal elements between the participants. These verbal items are both vocal and lexical; they are the actual words used. The whole system of communication is called *interaction*, which consists of discourse and the paralinguistic and kinesic elements accompanying the sending and receiving of information. The vocal but non-lexical components of interaction are here referred to as *paralanguage*. *Kinesics* (non-verbal communication) refers to bodily movements and they are both non-vocalic and non-lexical.

Communication in discourse is not one-way oriented even if only one person is speaking at a given moment. The term *interactional discourse* is used here to cover all interaction in discussions. Not only the sending and receiving of information, but also back-channel behaviour is included. The transactional nature of discourse enables us to send and receive messages simultaneously. A speaker can also give feed-back while he is producing his actual message; he may communicate (often non-verbally) his attitudes towards the listeners, his intentions and feelings about the situation, etc.

The view adopted here of interactional discourse is that it is a highly complex two-way process in which the roles of speaker and listener keep changing. Be a person a speaker or a listener at a given moment, he can give and receive messages and feed-back verbally and non-verbally, all of these participations being important to the course of interaction. Communicatively relevant behaviour is expected both from the sender and the receivers of any message for the moves of the interactional situation to convey the intended content of messages and to contribute harmoniously to the progress of communication.

Every situation has its own terms and it is necessary for the participants to be aware of the norms of the situation to be able to perform in an appropriate manner. Pragmacode determines the norms of behaviour in a community. The knowledge of the manner of proceeding in a discourse and awareness of the kind of participation that is required in a speech situation are elements of a person's pragma-competence (Hämäläinen 1976: 54).

When people who are not native speakers of the same language are interacting, the differences in the mode of expression may cause the communicative act to fail (Goffman 1972: 124). A foreign speaker has a non-native competence both for the linguistic structure of the language and for the rules of interaction in that language. However, when a person is communicating in a foreign language, it would be extremely important for him to know "the name of the game", ie. to be aware of the signals that guide communicational procedure. According to Hackman (1977: 144), when a person is speaking a foreign language, he still uses the rules of interaction that apply to his native language. So, discussions including foreigners easily break down, because the rules that govern interaction in the language concerned are not common and familiar to all of the participants.

The present study is based on an examination of how native (English) and non-native (Finnish) speakers communicate with each other in English. The video-recorded data of 12 discussions were observed. The purpose was to explain how the participants employ behavioural signals for proceeding in their discussion; how the non-native speakers are able to make use of communicative codes in the foreign language, and how native speakers of the language interpret the successful or faulty utterances expressed by foreign speakers.

Eight of the 12 discussions were in English and four of them were in Finnish. The discussions are interpreted separately, relative to the type of situation, the topic matter and the number of persons interacting.

THE ELEMENTS OF INTERACTIONAL DISCOURSE

The information exchanged between participants in a discourse situation causes the conversational interaction to proceed. The linguistic code is not the only code for giving information and participating in a conversation.

In topical conversation[1] we can distinguish three types of information exchanged in the total system of face-to-face communication (Laver and Hutcheson 1972): Firstly, the semantic structure of a language provides *cognitive information*, which is the propositional or purely factual content of the linguistic elements. Secondly, any behavioural cues that serve as evidence for a speaker's biological, psychological or social characteristics provide *indexical information* about the speaker himself.

[1] Topical conversation is differentiated from brief encounter (see Poyatos 1976: 87). A short, generally dyadic transaction like ordering food or purchasing a ticket is a brief encounter, while topical conversation consists of a series of participatory, floor-having sequences.

A speaker always signals some of his identity and characteristics as a person, but also his view of the progress of interaction. A listener is giving indexical information about himself when he participates in back-channel. A participant makes use of indexical information in order to define and control the roles that he and the other interactants play during a conversation. Thirdly, *interaction management information* is conveyed to organize the temporal progress of interaction. Interaction management information guides the participants to initiating and terminating discourse in a mutually acceptable way, indicates transitions from one stage to another in a conversation and controls the time-sharing of interaction: who should speak, for how long and when he should yield the turn to somebody else.

The communication of information may be vocal or non-vocal, verbal or non-verbal behaviour. The ways in which participants exchange information in a conversation can be broadly classified into linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic. According to Laver and Hutcheson (1972: 13), cognitive information is conveyed mainly by linguistic means, but paralanguage and body movements can modify, regulate and reinforce the semantic content of lexical items.

There are some basic features of interactional discourse common to all cultures: in all situations, conversation reveals some of the feelings, attitudes and intentions of the participants, irrespective of the way in which emotive (indexical) or referential (cognitive) components are expressed. Where cultures differ is in the manner and extent of using the linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic codes of communication to distribute the total information content of utterances (Abercrombie 1968: 69). The exchange of cognitive, indexical and interaction management information is needed for conversational interaction. What is more, any information must be communicated with simultaneous manipulation of many behavioural activities.

Language, paralanguage and kinesics are the three codes of communication, which Poyatos (1976) calls the Basic Triple Structure of Human Communication. Poyatos' classification of the elements of interactional discourse will be followed here and a distinction is made between paralinguistic actions and kinemes. Some scholars (see, for example, Abercrombie 1968 and Laver 1976) divide paralinguistic elements into visible features and audible features. Visible paralinguistic behaviour is what the others (eg. Duncan and Fiske 1977, Poyatos 1976, Cook 1971) regard as a separate code, ie. kinesic communication. Table 1 shows a classification of communicative devices into linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic signals. The table is a modified version on Poyatos' presentation.

Table 1. The elements of communicative codes.

	Language		Paralanguage		Kinesics
Segmental	WORDS AND GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURES	segmental	INTERJECTIONS	independent/dependent	BODY MOVEMENTS
			'words'		head nods
			alternants		gaze
			PAUSES		eye-contact
		non-segmental	TONE OF VOICE		GESTURES WITH HANDS
			intensity		
			tempo		
			pitch		
			syllabic length		
			stress		
			audible inhalation		

Spoken language cannot exist without paralanguage, and paralanguage always needs the spoken words as the basic material for its variations. As far as kinesics is concerned, its role is of more independent character. Bodily movements are visible (they occupy the motor behaviours of the sender and the visual channel of the receiver) and they can be realized alone, without spoken words. The primary paralinguistic qualities of voice are non-segmental, which differentiates them from spoken words. Key (1970: 17) defines paralanguage as some kind of modification of articulation or the lack of any variation in the tone of voice. Accordingly, hesitation and audible inhalation between segments of vocal articulation are included in paralanguage.

Segmental paralinguistic features are independent, including alternants and 'words' as categorized by Poyatos (1976). 'Words' are the linguistic elements of interaction that may take a paralinguistic function. For example, *yes* is a lexical item that does not always have the affirmative meaning associated with the form, but can be used only as a regulation of encounter. *Yes* can be a paralinguistic 'keep going' signal, in which case it does not answer a question or presupposition. These kinds of interjections are produced by the listener as direct emotive responses to what the speaker is saying, whether the interjections are required by the speaker or not.

Alternants represent interjections whose classification into verbal and non-verbal paralanguage is not unambiguous. Alternants can perform regulatory functions in a conversation and also have some lexical value like words do. These articulated vocal elements filling pauses (for example *yeah*, *uhum*, *hm*, *etc*) are describable within a language but they do not necessarily convey the meaning associated with their form.

Alternants are here regarded as interjections that can remain independent of the linguistic code (see Hämäläinen 1976: 167-169). They are segmental features, but remain paralinguistic, because the form that they take does not have an implicit meaning. Silences, filled or unfilled with interjections, occupy the area between speech and non-speech, and their functions alternate between linguistic and paralinguistic aspects of communication.

Body movements and gestures are communication signals that have both independent and dependent aspects in relation to linguistic message. There are conventional elements that can stand for verbal elements independently. For example, a head nod is used to replace *yes*, and it is usually very clear what is conveyed by a head nod even if nothing verbal is accompanying the nod. Independent gestures and movements alone can carry some meaning, but this does not mean that they always substitute for a verbal element. Often these gestures and other kineme signals are used in combination with appropriate verbal messages, to reinforce the effect of lexical items (Laver 1976).

The movements of head include nods, turning the head to face somebody, and also the movements of eyes (which remain as gaze or result in eye-contact). If, during interaction, A looks in the region of B's eyes intermittently and for short periods, it is called a gaze. If B looks back in the region of A's eyes for some of the time of A's gaze, the looking results in eye-contact (Argyle 1972: 80).

Dependent gestures are associated with speech and they can have different functions. Firstly, dependent gestures can be used to regulate the textual discourse roles of the participants. Kendon (1967: 60) suggests that the direction of a person's gaze during social interaction may serve in opening the channel of communication and signalling about the exchange and maintenance of speaker role.

Secondly, body movements and gestures can function as support for verbal units. Gestures moving away from the body (Birdwhistell 1970 calls them distal gestures) accompany *he*, *she*, *it*, *those*, *they*, *that*, *then*, *any*, *some*, while gestures moving toward the body (proximal gestures) are associated with *I*, *me*, *us*, *we*, *this*, *here* and *now* (Birdwhistell 1970: 121-126).

Body movements and gestures can also act as devices of emphasis, the vocally most prominent verbal element in an utterance being associated with a reinforcing gesture. Gestures are used to mark the semantic segmentation of a speaker's message. Every new topic tends to be marked gesturally or with a slight body movement (Laver 1976: 351).

For any act to be functional in a conversation, it must communicate something and be a consciously controllable part of interactional discourse. To put it briefly, paralinguistic phenomena and body movements are non-linguistic functional elements in a conversation, occurring along the spoken language (discourse), interacting with it and thus producing the whole domain of speech communication.

Extralinguistic factors also have their situational influence on discourse. Personal mannerisms, static properties of voice, etc. are non-conversational elements that communicate something about participants, though these elements are not intendedly included in the messages exchanged. The type of situation, the participants' sex, age, appearance, nationality, race and occupation all have their effect on the topics chosen, the register used and the feelings and attitudes that are attached to a person's adaptation to the other participants in the situation. This is a more subtle kind of effect compared to that produced by the manipulation of linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic elements of communication.

The information provided by extralinguistic channels is static in character, reflecting the enduring features of interactants. Extralinguistic elements provide the participants with background information on each other. From the total conditioning of a speech situation we can interpret the knowledge common to ourselves and to the other interactants and adjust our communicative behaviour (Cook 1971).

Variations in paralinguistic and kinesic activities occur continuously when a person is speaking, and we make judgments of each other on the basis of these dynamic interactional devices. For example, specific responses on particular occasions are reactions to what somebody has said in a certain manner, and reveal our attitude toward the other participants and the situation itself.

Some acts convey the speaker's attitudes to what he himself is saying (the speaker's manner of expression can indicate that he really means the opposite of what the lexical items are) or serve as regulators of encounter. Facial expressions, gaze, tone of voice, as well as the rate, amount and fluency of speech do not only guide us in decoding and encoding of the speaker's messages, they also help us in responding correctly to the information concerning the situation itself, so that no more than one person talks at a time, at least one person talks and no embarrassing silences occur (Cook 1971).

To sum up, paralinguistic acts are vocal and non-lexical, but can sometimes take a verbal form. Bodily communication (the use of kineme signals) is always non-vocal, non-lexical and non-verbal. Typically, paralinguistic behaviour is non-verbal communication (even when it is recognizable as words or alternants between lexical items and undefined vocalizations), but all vocal and non-verbal communication is not paralinguistic. For example, there is an ambivalence between paralinguistic non-verbal behaviour and extralinguistic voice quality. If a speaker has a whispery voice, the listener has to decide whether it is a paralinguistic feature signalling, say, confidentiality, or whether whispery voice is part of the speaker's idiosyncratic voice quality (Laver 1976).

INTERACTIONAL SYNCHRONY

Duncan (1972) suggests that there is a turn change mechanism in conversations and this mechanism consists of signals that intergrate the behaviour of participants. It is the turn-taking mechanism that enables the appropriate exchange of speaking turns in face-to-face interaction to take place. The basic types of signals for this mechanism are (see Duncan 1972: 286-288, and Duncan 1973):

- turn-yielding signals given by the speaker
- attempt-suppressing signals given by the speaker
- turn-claiming signals given by the listener
- feed-back signals given by the listener

The turn-taking mechanism proposed by Duncan operates through signals that are composed of behavioural cues. All communicative codes - language, paralanguage and kinesics - have elements which act as turn signals. It is the combination of all elements in communication that finally determines the form of an utterance and the effect that it has on the performance of other participants (Duncan 1972: 283).

A smooth exchange of speaking turns (speaker - listener) requires the following sequence of events (Duncan 1973: 33):

(1) The speaker displays a turn-yielding signal;
(2) the listener makes a move to claim the speaking turn; and
(3) the previous speaker relinguishes the turn.

A current speaker may select the next speaker (for example, when he asks a question) or participants may self-select in starting to talk (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1974: 703). By using special devices in signalling his intentions the speaker can hold the floor and discourage the others from starting talking or he can yield the turn to somebody else. Addressing a question is an obvious case of selecting. Tag-questions also serve the purpose of selecting the next speaker. For example, *...you know*, *...don't you agree?* can be used as exit techniques from a turn.

Paralinguistic and kinesic acts can be used to allocate the turns in a conversation. Duncan and Fiske (1977: 194) have reported six behavioural cues occurring either singly or together (if together, simultaneously or in tight sequences) as turn-yielding, attempt-suppressing, turn-claiming, or back-channel signals:

(1) Intonation-marked phonemic clause
(2) Sociocentric sequence
(3) Completion of grammatical clause
(4) Paralinguistic drawl
(5) Termination of hand gesticulation
(6) Decrease of paralinguistic pitch and/or loudness (usually on a sociocentric sequence)

Duncan and Fiske (1977) have found positive correlations between the number of yielding cues active in the unit under analysis and the probability of a listener's turn attempt within the unit. When the speaker displays more than one of the turn cues, the more probable it is that the listener will make a move and a smooth exchange of the turns occur.

The moves in a conversation obey organizational rules which determine the procedure of interaction. A turn is connected with the turns on either side of it and so there is a three-part structure in turn sequences (Sacks et al. 1974: 722):

(1) the relation of a turn to a prior,
(2) the content of the turn,
(3) the relation of a turn to a succeeding one.

The prospective and retrospective functions of paralinguistic and kinesic acts at the boundaries of units are decisive in determining the information content of utterances in a discourse.

Duncan and Fiske (1977: 167) have observed that many of the actions characterizing conversational procedure (gestures, variations in the quality of voice, etc.) tend to occur simultaneously or in tight sequences over only a few syllables. The clustering seems to occur most prominently at the end of speaking turns. This is also reported by de Long (1974); significant increase in kinesic activity is associated with the final segments of verbal utterances.

Feed-back should not constitute a turr or a claim for a turn. On the contrary, it is often displayed by the listener in order to avoid making a move and starting to talk. Claiming the turn or communicating in back-channel are the choices that a listener has when he is faced with a turn-yielding signal.

Because back-channel behaviour does not constitute a turn, it is often displayed by the listener simultaneously with the speaker's utterance, without this being considered simultaenous talking. The main function of these signals is to keep the communication channel open and give feed-back to other interactants on everybody's participation. The speaker will normally continue his move as if uninterrupted.

It is not always clear if some of the longer back-channels, particularly brief restatements of the speaker's words or sentence completions constitute moves or feed-back moves. These verbal realizations of a listener's participation often trigger an answer by the speaker, even if it was not expected. In this case long back-channels appear to take the quality and function of turn-requesting signals.

There is constant interplay in interaction. What one person says determines whether the other participants will get involved and what is to be their next action. On many occasions the participants are locked together by involvement obligations. The social control ensures that individuals maintain proper involvement and no embarrassing silences or inordinate amount of simultaneous talking occur (Goffman 1972: 115-116).

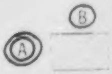
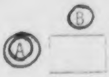
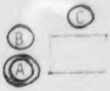
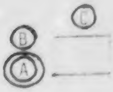
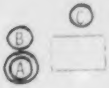
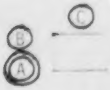
THE METHOD

The present study is based on the video-recorded data of 12 discussions, each of them lasting from 15 to 45 minutes. There are two types of speech situation: (1) There are four groups of Finnish students with an English teacher engaged in a seminar in English. Each of these groups (consisting of two, three or four interactants, the teacher being one of them) was video-recorded twice, in two separate seminars each. (2) The same Finnish students were video-recorded, once only, when they had a more informal conversation in Finnish without a teacher being present. The students are advanced university students of English. The discussions are listed in Table 2.

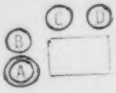
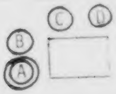
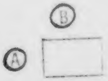
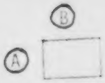
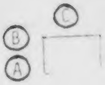
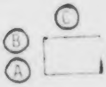
Several, visible and audible behavioural acts by one person could occur simultaneously and this was multiplied by the number of persons interacting. All the variations of actions which occurred cannot be studied at the same time. The present study concentrated on clusters of signals that seemed to maximize the possibility of discovering the relationships between actions.

During the discussions the interactants were sitting around a small table, so that they could see each other from the waist up. The two

Table 2. List of the discussions. The English discussions are always formal seminar-type situations and the native speaker in them is a teacher. The Finnish conversations are more informal, between groups of peers.

	Language	Number of native speakers	Number of non-native speakers	Orientation
I	English	1	1	
II	English	1	1	
III	English	1	2	
IV	English	1	2	
V	English	1	2	
VI	English	1	2	

There are three basic types of orientation around the table, for example the discussions I, III and VII. A single circle represents a student and a double circle represents a teacher.

	Language	Number of native speakers	Number of non-native speakers	Orientation
VII	English	1	3	
VIII	English	1	3	
IX	Finnish	2	-	
X	Finnish	2	-	
XI	Finnish	3	-	
XII	Finnish	3	-	

cameras used in the video-recording enabled the mixing of the interactants' pictures on the monitor screen for observation. By observing the mixed pictures of the participants judgments were made on their gaze-direction, eye-contact, gestures and body movements, in association with the linguistic and paralinguistic elements of communication. (For the use of video-recording as a method of studying speech situations see Sallinen-Kuparinen 1978).

The discussions were audio-recorded on four channels; every participant with his microphone occupied one channel. The microphone-signals from the recordings can be coupled to regulate a four-channel switch (a speech signal processor). The switch shows the structuring of speaking turns by simplifying speech signals as on/off -information (see Figure 1).

The speech signal processor produces a slip of paper on which the contribution of each participant is shown in the form of a line. When a person says something, his gate in the switch opens and this causes a step in his line on the slip. The line stays on the higher level until the person stops talking for the moment. The lines of all participants are parallel and the contents of a person's utterance can be transcribed at the proper points in relation to the other participants' moves.

The four-channel processor system makes possible the analysis of discourse in real time. The switch reveals what signals do have an effect on the procedure of discourse and how quickly the effect takes place. The points of speaker-change, simultaneous turns and vocal back-channels all provide information about the cause-and-effect relations of communicative activities.

Figure 1 is an example of a slip provided by the recorder in the four-channel apparatus. The time scale is shown below the parallel lines. Time is measured in seconds in 1:5 relationship to the length of a line in centimeters. Consequently five centimeters on the slip correspond to one second in time. There are four people (*A*, *B*, *C* and *D*) involved in the discussion, each of the participants occupying one channel in the speech signal processor (channels 1, 2, 3 and 4, respectively) and a line in the slip of paper. *A* is the native speaker of English and is therefore circled. The unbroken zero-line (as *C* in channel 3) means that nothing is said. When the level of the line is higher, something is being said by the participant concerned. The words spoken are transcribed in the boxes provided by the upper level of the line. When *B* finishes speaking (*the paper talking about*), *D* starts with *yeah yeah*. The latter part of *D*'s *yeah yeah* occurs simultaneously with *B*'s *it should be*. *A*'s *əm* is simultaneous with both *B*'s and *D*'s utterances.

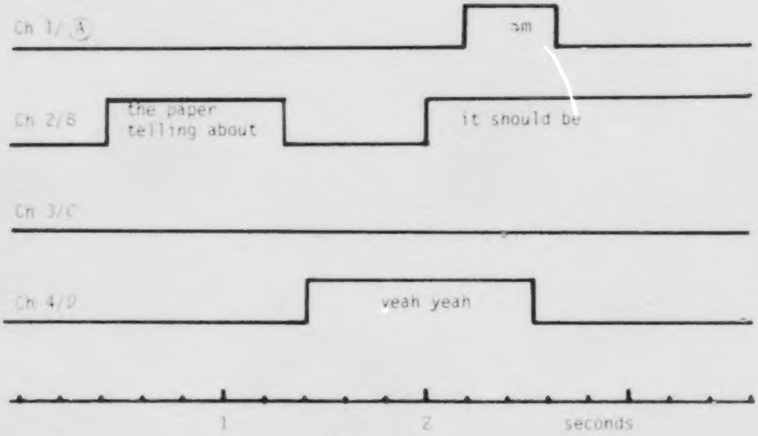


Figure 1. A copy of a discourse map. For a discussion see the text.

Deviations from the normal, ie. the paralinguistic acts beyond the system of linguistic description, were of the greatest value for the present study. It is not so much the fluent flow of the messages as increased/decreased tempo or intensity, drawls, clippings and pauses (both filled and unfilled) in contrast to the paralinguistic acts on the syllables preceding and following the unit under analysis that explain the discussants' interpretation of each other. As for kinesic actions, the presence or absence of a movement was studied rather than strength or degree.

The present analysis of the discussions was based on the interaction of the elements of all communicative codes. The English and Finnish discussions were compared to find out if a person's use of an element in his utterance is idiosyncratic or due to his non-native competence in English.

DISCUSSION

The interactional activities which were under observation occurred from time to time with all persons, rather than continuously with some and not at all with some participants. Every interactant talked, gestured, gazed and provided some paralinguistic information, not only as a speaker, but also as a listener.

Every verbal utterance has an agreed meaning in a language, but such meanings are modified both within groups and in different situations within a culture. In the conversations studied the variations in the modes of expression were to a great extent due to the modification effects of non-verbal communication or to the lack of any such behaviour. It was always the context of a situation that determined the degree and type of variance that occured in language. The verbal form of utterances was highly dependent on the purpose of communication: the participants had a task to perform (a seminar) or the gathering was a more informal type of situation (a group of peers).

There were differences in the use of communicative codes according to situational constraints and a person's capacity for linguistic performance. A participant did not use the same social techniques on different occasions. The students' communicative behaviour was different in the two types of situations (in the seminar and in the informal conversation). The variations of these situational behaviours should ideally be variations of a common theme: a person should have a capacity for behavioural activities from which he could choose the proper ones for any situation in any language spoken.

One of the first observations was that the language learners tended to refrain from using any other conversational cues than lexical items when they were producing their messages in a foreign language. They relied only on language, eliminating gestures, facial expressions, gaze and variations in the tone of voice. Participation was limited to speaking. When the students were listening to a speaker, they did not give feed-back effectively. The back-channel information provided by the students was mostly of the turn-claiming type. A feed-back behaviour of the mere 'keep going' type was infrequent, but the listeners' signals often acted as attempted turn-taking moves. If a student's attempts were suppressed, his feed-back remained as an accompaniment of the speaker's message, which was not the originally intended function of the listener's behaviour.

The Finnish students' paralinguistic and gestural cues were less informative in the formal seminar-type situations, but were employed more effectively in the groups of students. The more uncertain the students were about their linguistic performance, the stronger the tendency was to exclude the kinesic and paralinguistic codes from their participatory techniques.

When foreign speakers face a problem in how to express their ideas, they often muddle the utterance also linguistically when trying to formulate grammatically correct sentences. The students were not willing or able to order the cognitive content of their messages in more simple sentence structures in English in order to communicate the idea. A more skilled performer, ie. a native speaker of a language (here the Finnish students in the Finnish conversations or the English teachers in the English seminars) receives much information through the paralinguistic and kinesic codes. A person's mastering of linguistic skills is better in the mother tongue and consequently paralinguistic and kinesic codes of communication duplicate the information available to a native speaker in discourse.

Every person's individual characteristics determine to what extent he can utilize the dimensions of paralinguistic and kinesic parameters in relating his means of communication to situational requirements (Rosenfeld and Civikly 1976). This actually was the case with the students performance in the English conversations compared with their performance in the Finnish ones. The expected cultural differences were not crucial in the process of interactional discourse. It was rather the students' criticism of themselves and the anxiety concerning their deviant skills in a foreign language that prevented them from communicating effectively and caused violation of discourse. If the immediate situation with foreign language causes anxiety which blocks the interaction totally, the pre-setting of the situation must have been experienced to be too demanding. It is either the interactant himself, who with his self-criticism suppresses all his attempts to participate, or it is the social pressure in the situation that prevents the person from communicating even if he is willing and able to do so.

The majority of the Finnish students did not communicate by using appropriate means of interaction in English, which is why gestures, gaze and vocal qualities did not constitute a coherent part of their messages. What was to be expected then, was that they would have used their native Finnish devices for the management of interactional discourse when talking in English. This would necessitate the existence of separate explicit communicative codes in Finnish and English. However, communicative devices do not seem to be language-dependent for the following reasons. Firstly, the students did not use totally different kinds of interactional techniques when talking in English and in Finnish. The students employed various means of communication to express their intentions in the mother tongue. But these techniques were not transferred or modified if the intentions and the information of the cognitive content of their messages were to be provided in English. Instead, the students often eliminated the paralinguistic and kinesic acts totally from their expression. They abstained from communicating with gestures or tone of voice if they did not master the linguistic code completely and if they had to control it very carefully. Secondly, the students' paralinguistic and kinesic behaviour in the Finnish discussions resembled their behaviour in the English discussions when they were well aware of how to perform linguistically in the foreign language. It is not the inability to maintain and regulate interaction that should be blamed for the failures in communicative acts; but the students are unsuccessful in switching on the behavioural acts that are available to them. Thirdly, the teachers' mode of expression was very much like that of the students' in the Finnish discussions. The native speaker's task in an English seminar was to keep interaction going. Very often it was one of the students who adopted the responsibility for the maintenance of interaction in a group of peers. The mode of expression was attached to a person's role in the interactional situation concerned. The role for its part was associated with the person's level of competence. In particular, the leader position in a discussion was gained through mastery of the linguistic expression associated with the topic. The topics and sub-topics of the discussions and the level of abstraction very much determined whether the student could participate or not, be it in his native or in a foreign language.

In general, it seems that the more deviant a person's linguistic competence is in the language concerned or in the position occupied by him in the discussion, the less he makes use of the total capacity of communicative means in an interactional situation. This is paradoxical, if we think about the nature of paralinguistic and kinesic elements of behaviour. Paralinguistic and kinesic acts are the most universal means that people can use to reinforce and modify their messages, or when they are at a loss with the linguistic modes of expression. When a person's linguistic competence is deviant or his task in a discourse is demanding, he should make use of communicative devices that can be more easily mastered.

The presence or absence of gestures and movements conveyed information about the students' emotional state. It was uncommon for the non-native speakers in the English discussions to accompany with gestures what they were saying. Gesturing was more effectively employed by the students in the Finnish discussions and by the native speakers in the English seminars.

Individuals used quite a limited number of different body movements within an interaction situation. The pattern of gaze especially was tied to the type of situation according to the task or topic of conversation; there was less gaze in the working seminars than in the groups of peers.

Paralinguistic aspects of speech (voice quality, loudness, pitch, tempo, pauses and stress) should constitute a part of any verbal utterance, showing which one of the possible meanings is intended. Like kinemes, paralinguistic actions were more closely correlated with the students' emotional states than with the cognitive content of their utterances.

The teachers in the seminars were well aware of the students' trouble with their tone of voice as a means of signalling the cognitive and interaction management information of their messages. Consequently, the teachers counted more on the signalling function of the students' kinemes than on paralinguistic effects. The native speakers of English based their judgments on the meaning of the non-native students' utterances and interjections on the relation between language and body motion rather than on the relation between language and tone of voice. For example, when the coincidence of a student's intonation units and syntactic boundaries is not complete, the native speaker of English bases his assumptions concerning the foreigner's intentions on the student's gaze behaviour and gestures rather than on the pitch contours used.

The non-native speakers' changes of sentence, repetitions, unexpected tone of voice, etc. seem to have been caused by anxiety and the unawareness of how to gain time to think and decide what to say next. Affective processes were encoded and expressed primarily by the paralinguistic and kinesic means of communication. These elements of interactional discourse may also reflect cognitive processes, thus revealing the speaker's uncertainty associated with his cognitive decision-making about the message.

Anxiety (at least mild arousal) may also have a facilitating effect on speech. Hesitation did not necessarily have a disruptive effect on communication in the native or non-native discussions. Sajavaara and Lehtonen (1978) have reported that periods of hesitancy can precede periods of speech continuity: "It is during hesitation pauses that decisions about the semantic content of the subsequent speech are made." In the English discussions the students' anxiety (which may have been due to the setting with the cameras in the studio) was mainly brought out by the abstaining from communicating with tone of voice. But in the Finnish conversations anxiety caused the paralinguistic and kinesic codes to be employed effectively to reinforce the literal content of the utterances.

The manner of proceeding in the interaction seemed to be more dependent on the other people participating and the type of situation (formal - informal) than any other characteristics of interaction process. In the informal Finnish discussions the students avoided silence by uttering interjections, they interrupted each other, gestured and looked at each other much more than in the seminar-type situations in English. Every student's position in the Finnish conversations resembled that of the teachers' in the English seminars: the students had to adopt the responsibility for maintaining the flow of interaction themselves, like a teacher must when conducting a class.

A very important task for the teachers observed was to make the students talk more. The most common techniques used for this were to ask questions, to talk about things that were concerned with the students and to reward anything that they did say. If the students were not able to answer a question or to start a turn when expected to do do, they did not communicate paralinguistically either (by looking at other participants, gesturing, or uttering feed-back interjections) like a native speaker would have done. The blocked situation could not be switched on again before the native speaker (the teacher) came to help. He led the discussion to another sub-topic or asked further questions in order to transfer the turn to some other student.

The students waited for the native speaker's instructions (in voice or gesture accompanying speech) before they started to talk. The non-native speakers themselves did not communicate in back-channels to share the responsibility for the procedure of communication. If a student did not want to participate, he did not even communicate his unwillingness to do so.

The turn-organizational techniques used in interactional discourse are supposed to build an intrinsic motivation for listening to all utterances in a conversation. A participant must listen to each utterance and analyze it, because he might be selected as the next speaker. A student is not always willing to speak in a foreign language, even when selected to do so, but he must understand all utterances in a discourse to be able to control and respond to expectations falling upon him. It is the parties' understanding of prior turns that affects the construction of their subsequent turns or makes it possible for them to avoid verbal participation.

The teachers involved in the discussions were used to communicating with foreigners. This was why communication could proceed in spite of the erroneous use of linguistic code and the elimination of paralinguistic and kinesic acts by the students. Grammatically deviant utterances by the students were mostly understood by the teachers, even though there were no other cues than the erroneous lexical items present. Even a very infrequent feed-back participation by the students was important in guiding the teachers' behaviour.

No speaker had exclusive rights to talk to the first possible completion of his utterance. Occurrences of more than one speaker at the same time were not very frequent, however. In the English discussions especially there were very few overlaps. The teachers produced the majority of the utterances and the moves were relatively long. The students' moves were shorter, matching the pauses in the flow of the teacher's utterances. If there was simultaneous talking, it was the teacher who most often relinquished the turn, even if he had been the original speaker whom the student had interrupted. In the case of simultaneous moves the correctness of turn-claiming signals was not considered by the participants. It was the total background of the situation and the roles of the interactants that made the teacher yield the turn, whenever a student attempted a signal.

In the Finnish discussions the number of moves was distributed more evenly between the participants, and the students' utterances were about the same length. There were also more overlaps, caused by the more active exchange of speaking turns and feed-back signals as compared with the English discussions. In the main, the overlaps were brief and often they were not observable at all when listening to the tapes. It was the four-channel speech signal processor, which revealed that there was a lot of simultaneous talking.

Language learners should be made aware of the importance of all behavioural devices in interactional discourse. It is not only the linguistic code that needs attention, but getting used to all communicative activities must be included in the learning process of language. Gesticulation and variations in the tone of voice should not be regarded as mere primitive modes of cognitive representation. Paralinguistic and kinesic activities can be an aid to speech, reinforcing the messages exchanged and the intentions communicated by the participants. Moreover, paralinguistic and kinesic devices can be resorted to when a speaker is at a loss for linguistic means of expression for what he has to say.

In interpersonal perception everyone evidently judges others' behaviour. The ways in which we react and respond to other people in thought, feeling and action are very much dependent on how interaction is maintained. When a person observes that the other person has ceased speaking and is looking up at him, he feels he should start speaking. But the decisions made - the appropriate length of silences, whether interaction should start or finish, when the participants should progress from one topic to another, etc. - are dependent on how we perceive and respond to signals concerned with the maintenance and regulation of interactional process.

If the person being looked at is not willing to start speaking, he must be able to communicate his unwillingness to make a move. Successful discussion is not maintained by the manipulation of other people's behaviour, as this may seem to suggest. Instead, it is the total combination of all actions and their co-ordination between the participants which makes satisfactory communication. Multi-level synchrony of behavioural acts can produce an interactional discourse that is not experienced as disturbed by any of the participants.

Our systematic biases in the perceiving of others and the making of incorrect judgments cause unsuccessful situations such as someone persistently but unintentionally interrupting the other participants because of his failure to perceive that the speaker had not yet finished his move. This was very common with the non-native speakers. When the students communicated in English, they could not interpret the teacher's intentions through his paralinguistic effects of voice. An opposite example, a successful observation of others' behaviour, occurred when the teacher in a seminar explained something to one of the students because he realized that the student had not understood what went before.

On the basis of the results of the present study, cultural differences in the ways of using the communicative codes in interaction count less than has been suggested (see, eg., Abercrombie 1968; Goffman 1972; Hackman 1977). At least in Finnish and English the differences between cultures are not so striking that we would have different codes for gestures and tone of voice in these two languages. No national characteristics could be distinguished in the discussions studied here.

Interjections are what proved to be more frequent and more informative in English than in Finnish. *Hm*, *yhym*, *yeah* and *yes* are what the Finnish students mainly uttered as feed-back in English. Three functions of these one-syllabic utterances could be found. Firstly, they are used as 'keep going' signals from the students to convey to the speaker that he is being attended to. Secondly, the students utter the interjections as feed-back signals; as responses to the teacher's questions. It may be that a student interprets the teacher's information-requiring question as a mere social question, and with *yeah yeah* or the like he avoids taking the turn and the question-maker has to continue. Thirdly, interjections are used as excuses for simultaneous talking by the students. Often a student interrupts the teacher by hastily uttering *yeah yeah*, *yes yes* and so on. He starts to make a move by speaking a sequence of such one-syllable utterances. The interjections are simultaneous with the previous speaker's last words, after which the feed-back participation of the student takes the function of a move.

Finnish students' *hm*, *yhym* and *yeah* act mainly as feed-back signals and do not constitute a move. Their function is paralinguistic and the meaning associated with these interjections is not dependent on the vocal form they take.

Yes is an alternant between verbal and non-verbal utterances. Finnish students often attach some lexical value to it and *yes* is a strong signal as a word or as a regulator of encounter.

In turn-organizational sense it is *yes* that most frequently of the interjections indicates a move by the students. *Yes* has more regulatory effects than *hm*, *yhym* and *yeah* on the procedure of interaction. These paralinguistic interjections are more in the nature of feed-back, and the hearer supposes that the speaker will continue. *Hm*, *yhym* and *yeah* are often repeated several times during the other person's utterance and a sequence of these may be finished with a *yes*. The final *yes* leads the back-channel communicator to making a move.

The English speakers' interjections had more lexical value than those of the Finnish students. The English speakers expressed *yes*, *hm*, etc. as back-channel communication. When they wanted more controlling effects, they uttered *right*, *now*, *okay*, *that's right*, *fine*, or *sure*.

To teach language learners how to make use of pauses (silent or filled with interjections), gestures and gaze to alleviate the processing of their utterances would make them more flexible communicators. To know how to keep the turn, how to yield the turn properly and how to accept one when expected to contributes to the smooth procedure of interaction. It is the language learner's adjustment in any situation that should be developed, rather than the intellectual ability to produce grammatically complete sentences. To show one's reactions as feed-back signals and also to show one's need for such reactions from one's listeners would make a foreign speaker a more confident participant in a discourse.

Maximal communicative freedom is the primary goal in a conversation. To know how to speak, for how long and how to abstain from making a move are the means of achieving any common purposes that come up during interaction. This ideal ease of communication should be pursued in any interactional situation, be it an informal talk or some variation of conversation (eg. in a class) and be it in one's native or in a foreign language.

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KINESICS IN DISCOURSE BETWEEN NATIVE AND FINNISH SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on a thesis (Purhonen 1977) written for the Department of English at the University of Jyväskyla. It is part of the Finnish-English Contrastive Project carried out jointly by the Department of English and the Department of Phonetics. The thesis was one of three studies based on the same research material. Saario (1978) studied the interactional devices, Isannäinen (forthcoming) the pauses and their function in discourse, and Purhonen studied the kinemes.

The material consists of 12 video-recordings of advanced seminar sessions. Eight of the sessions recorded were held in English and four in Finnish. The number of the participants varied from two to four; one of the participants in the English sessions was always a teacher.

The aim of the study was to discover whether there was any difference - and, if so, of what kind - in the use of kinemes resulting from the languages used: the mother tongue (Finnish) and foreign language (English). In earlier studies the importance of kinesics in discourse within the same language and the same culture, and between different languages and different cultures has been emphasized. In psychology, sociology, ethnomethodology, and linguistics, it has been discovered that, by the side of some universals in communication, culturally bound features also exist. Every culture creates a 'universe of discourse', a way in which members of the culture can interpret their experience to others (Barnlund 1975: 428). This 'universe of discourse', or means of transmitting experience, is both verbal and non-verbal, and it is transferred from generation to generation together with the culture. When people from different cultures and languages meet, they cannot understand each other. That is why foreign languages are taught and learned. However, the main interest in foreign language teaching has been in teaching the verbal code, and mostly in its written form, and the spoken form, including the non-verbal elements, has been neglected. This effects the students' ability to communicate. They have difficulties in oral understanding although they might have a good understanding of written language (Irvine 1977). Students concentrate on words and their meanings and forget the use of non-verbal means.

In a study of the occurrence of gestures and verbalizations, Raffler Engel (1977: 244-247) discovered that, from the beginning of language acquisition, children recognize the use of non-verbal means. She (Raffler Engel 1977: 248-249) concludes that (1) the use of non-verbal means of communication is universal and innate, (2) the amount and expanse of kinetic movement in communication is hereditary by race, and (3) the direction of each kinetic signal is culture-bound and transmitted through learning, either by imitation or through teaching. This conclusion implies that foreign language teachers should pay attention to kinesics. Roussel (1978: 59) points out that performing efficiently in a real-life situation requires a three-fold transfer on the part of the language learner: (1) transfer of linguistic competence into the second language, (2) transfer of heuristic problem-solving strategies linked with the particular language skill concerned, and (3) transfer of interactive techniques.

The foreign language learner has to acquire communicative competence in the language before he can cope with real-life situations. Communicative competence embraces non-verbal communication, including such kinesic signals as physical contact, spatial behaviour, appearance, posture, gesture, facial expression, and gaze (Argyle 1975). Kinesic signals are used to (1) manage the situation, (2) support verbal messages, and (3) replace verbal communication (Argyle 1972: 251). Posture, facial expression, appearance, gaze and tone of voice transmit interpersonal attitudes to the participants. The other devices managing the social situation are not directed at the other participants, but are states of the individual, eg. emotional states such as anger, joy and depression. These are conveyed by facial expression, gestures, smell, gaze, or tone of voice, alone or together with speech. Information about status, group, occupation and personality can be termed self-presentation. These are expressed by appearance, mostly by clothes or by accent, loudness, and speed - in general by the way the person speaks and behaves. All these - interpersonal attitudes, emotional states, and self-presentation - give the other participants information about how to act in the particular situation. Kinesic signals can affect the meaning, and provide support for verbal messages by providing punctuation, pointing to people or objects, emphasizing, or illustrating. In discourse the feedback given by the hearer is needed regularly by the speaker. The speaker needs to know if the hearer has understood, is interested or bored. He can obtain this information by means of non-verbal signals, both vocal and non-vocal.

Situations exist where verbal interaction is impossible or does not work. In such situations non-verbal communication can replace the verbal one. Such situations are noisy factories, under-water situations, physical deprivation, or occasions where one single word would destroy the atmosphere of the whole situation. People may also forget what they intended to say.

BASIC CONCEPTS

The starting point for the present study is the general information theory. As adapted to human communication, its basic unit is a *communicative act* - the transmission of information from a source to a recipient (Newcomb 1966: 66). In discourse - and discourse analysis - the basic unit is a *speech act* (Searle 1969). A speech act means the uttering of a sentence in a certain situation governed by the rules and norms prevailing in that situation. Argyle (1975) uses the term *social act*, which includes the signs used in the speech act. Riley (1977) uses the *act of communication* as an upper category. This act can be realized by a wide range of behaviour and through various channels. It is not restricted to words and it can be either verbal or non-verbal. Riley also uses the term *speech act* but it is only one of the realizations of his act of communication.

The division in this paper between linguistics, paralinguistics and kinesics, and between verbal and non-verbal communication is based on Riley's division of discourse. He has divided discourse into three components, verbal, paralinguistic and non-verbal, according to the use of verbal and vocal elements. The *verbal component* is determined by both verbal and vocal usage. It is divided into segmental and suprasegmental phonology. This component includes the actual words used in the discourse, their sequence, and the sequence of their segments. The *paralinguistic component* is characterized by the use of vocal elements instead of verbal ones. This component is divided into dependent and independent parts. The first is dependent on the verbal string, the use of tone, stress, pitch etc., while the other is independent of the string. The last, the *non-verbal component* is defined by the non-use of both verbal and vocal elements. This component includes kinesics and proxemics.

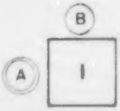
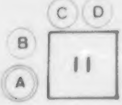
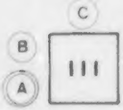
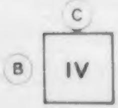
Duncan's theory of speaker-hearer interaction and the interactional devices available within it (Duncan 1972, Duncan 1974, Duncan & Niederehe 1974) lists the signals which make possible the smooth flow of conversation: *turn-yielding*, *attempt suppressing*, and *speaker-state* signals. All these signals are composed of various language behaviour and of body motion and other kinesic behaviour. Apart from these signals regulating the smooth change of speaking-turns Duncan identifies three signals governing the turns themselves: the *speaker-within-turn*, the *speaker continuation*, and the *hearer back-channel*. The use of these signals - the noises and nods - becomes important in informal situations where there are no strict rules governing turn-taking.

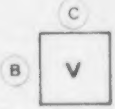
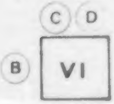
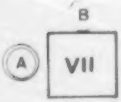
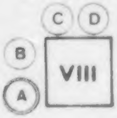
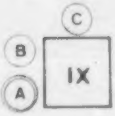
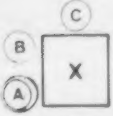
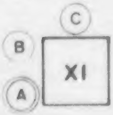
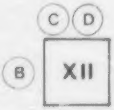
Kinesic devices have been divided into: emblems, illustrators, regulators, affect displays and adaptors (Harrison 1973: 99; Mehrabian 1972: 3). *Emblems* can be translated into words. They are communication signs which have a meaning shared by many individuals. Example: head-nod = *yeah*, where the communication sign and the word can be used together, but the head-nod alone can carry the meaning. *Illustrators* emphasize stressed words by head or hand movements. Example: a head-nod occurs with *yeah*. *Regulators* help to manage the interaction. They occur at the beginning or the end of a speech act. Example: a hand gesture as a sign for the hearer not to interrupt or the look at the beginning or the end to or away from the hearer. *Affect displays* transmit feelings during interaction, such as anger and happiness, by means of a smile, frown, lip biting, etc. *Adaptors* constitute behaviour where the interactor manipulates himself or some object, which may also have some informative value. Example: when talking about a book the speaker holds the book in his hand, he holds a pen without writing with it, or he scratches himself, moves to a more comfortable position, etc.

METHODS

The research material was collected in the studio of the Department of Speech at the University of Jyväskylä. The material consists of eight seminar discussions in English and four in Finnish. There were four separate groups, the size varying from two to three students plus the teacher. The sessions were held weekly during the term. The recorded and videotaped sessions were held near the end of the term, so the members of the group were familiar with each other. The students were Finns and the two teachers native speakers of English. Each group consisted of both male and female students, while both of the teachers were male. The students were approximately the same age, as were the teachers. Each session was to last 40 minutes but the time varied from 35 to 45 minutes. The topics of the discussions held in English varied in each group. The aim of the members of each group was to write essays on different topics. The Finnish discussions followed the English ones, without the teacher. In all these discussions the topic was the same, the syllabus of the Department of English. The recording procedure is explained in Sajavaara, Lehtonen and Korpimies (this volume). The setting in the studio was formal. The members of the group were situated in the way presented in Table 1 below. The table also gives the number of the students in each session.

Table 1. List of discussions.

	Language	Number of native speakers	Number of non-native speakers	Orientation
I	English	1	1	
II	English	1	3	
III	English	1	2	
IV	Finnish	2	-	

	Language	Number of native speakers	Number of non-native speakers	Orientation
V	Finnish	2	-	
VI	Finnish	3	-	
VII	English	1	1	
VIII	English	1	3	
IX	English	1	2	
X	English	1	2	
XI	English	1	2	
XII	Finnish	3	-	

The group-discussions have been numbered from I to XII and the same number is later placed on the right in each example for easy reference for the number of participants and their orientation. Ⓐ marks the teacher and B, C and D are used for the students.

The symbols used in the description of the material are given in Table 2. They are based on Argyle's (1975) and Kendon's (1967) symbols with some modifications and additions.

Table 2. Symbols used in the description of non-verbal elements of discourse.

HEAD

○ = head erect, face forward

= head turned left

= head turned right

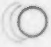
┤ = head tilted left

├ = head tilted right

┴ = head tilted back

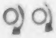
┬ = head tilted forward

= head-nod

 = head-shake

EYES

○ ○ = fully open

 = focus on the hearer/speaker

= look to the side

= eyes upward

= eyes downward

●● = eyes shut

BROWS

^ ^ = raised brows

⌒ ⌒ = normal brows

MOUTH

‿ = smile

⊢⊣ = blank

⬭ = mouth open

«O»! = smack

HANDS

↑ = any gesture (described in the text)

PAUSE

- = longer than "normal"

, - , = the hearer has uttered something during the speaker's pause

// = uttered during the pause; placed at the beginning of the hearer's line

[ ] = simultaneous speech

* = picture

KINESICS IN DISCOURSE

Examples of the discourse are given below in both English and Finnish. The kinemes are located at the point of their occurrence by means of the symbols given in Table 2. At first, some general observations on the discussions and the differences between the teacher's and the students' use of kinesics will be made. Then three basic uses of kinesics in discourse will be taken up in the light of examples from the discourse material.

General considerations. - The situation where the discussions were recorded was demanding for the students: it involved a new setting in the studio, a seminar-session, a teacher, and a foreign language. The teacher was apparently the central figure in the conversations. He was the one from whom the students wanted acceptance and encouragement, he was the one to whom they talked. The fellow students had to wait for their turn to talk to the teacher.

In the examples taken from the English sessions with the teachers there was a slight difference depending on the teacher: one used more gestures than the other. This is due to the individual variation; some individuals use more gestures and more obvious ones than others.

Discussion I served as a basis for the comparison. Only one student was present with the teacher and thus the conversation had no interrupting variables. In Discussion II there were three students; the teacher shared the total time with each one of them separately and only rarely did the three of them take part in the discussion together. Discussion III was between one teacher and two students. It included a kind of competition. One student was neglecting the other, and the teacher wanted to encourage the 'silent' student.

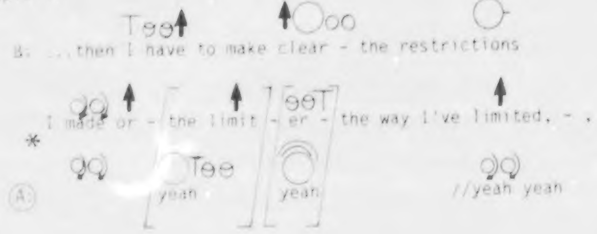
The students left the task of organizing and regulating the interaction to the teacher. Only sometimes did they show an ability to handle the discourse by themselves in the way they wanted (examples 6 and 7). The teacher alone had the responsibility for the interaction, and he alone had the task of activating the others. The teachers produced longer utterances and their turns lasted longer, which may, however, be due to the fact that they spoke English as their native language. The students concentrated more on lexical problems than on interaction. They left the structuring task to the teacher and expected to be drawn into the conversation. When concerned with grammatical correctness, the students tried to cover their embarrassment or hesitation, and transmit the message by other means of communication. They used their hands, they looked for help from the teacher, or, more often, looked straight forward or down, speaking slowly and frowning (examples 1 and 6). The students mostly used kinemes to support their verbal expression. The supporting was carried out by the use of emblems, illustrators, and affect display.

The teacher used every possible method of encouraging the students: verbal, paralinguistic and kinesic. This is apparent in most of the examples presented. The students, on the other hand, did not much care for reinforcing their fellow students. When they did so, however, it was mostly done by a head-nod or *yeah*. The students did not usually combine these as was almost the rule with the teachers. This may be due to cultural differences. It was also seen that when the students did not want to take the turn they dropped their heads and kept looking at the table. They did not usually indicate their unwillingness in any other way.

In the Finnish discussions the participants were of equal status and approximately the same age. There was therefore no individual of higher status to take care of the interaction, and they had to manage by themselves. The language was their mother tongue. These factors made the situation different. The students took the responsibility and were more willing to take part without naming the following 'speaker'. They used more kinemes and were more eager to express their feelings by means of words, facial expressions, hands, etc. The students who used more gestures in the Finnish discussions also used them in the English ones, and vice versa. Individual variation therefore seems to play an important role even in second-language discourse.

Kinesic signals supporting the verbal code. - Example 1 is an extract of the beginning of a discussion. The topic is African writers and B's work on one of them. B's behaviour here illustrates how the speaker turns his gaze from the hearer when he gets embarrassed.

Example 1.



1 B: ...then I have to make clear - the restrictions

I made or - the limit - er - the way I've limited, - .

*

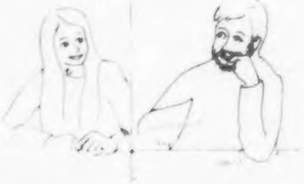
A: yeah yeah //yeah yeah

B: the subject and er then these definitions er...

A: yeah

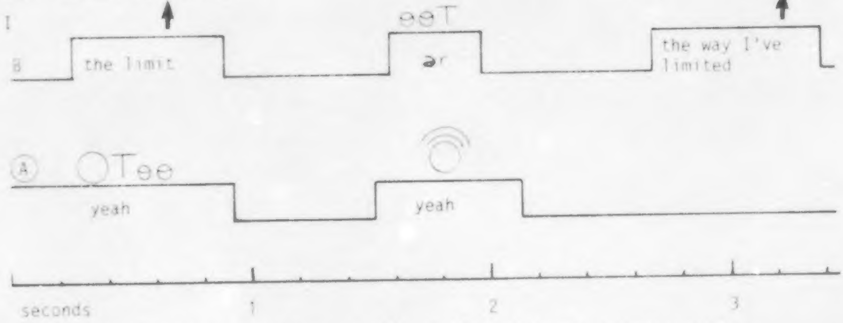
At first B looks at her papers. This could be called affect display: the situation is demanding; the other interactor is of a higher status (a teacher), it is a discussion in an foreign language, the topic presupposes information about the authors, and the speakers wear throat-microphones under bright lamps in front of two TV-cameras. This could also be called an adaptor, because B is talking about an essay she is going to write and she has the table of contents before her. She then lifts her eyes and turns her gaze on A at *I made*, but she is embarrassed, because she is not sure how to explain her thoughts, and turns her gaze downwards to the papers again. B also uses other kinemes. The first gesture is performed at *I have*. She moves her hand towards the paper on the table as if referring to it. Her elbow rests on the table and she waves her arm to the left. Both the kinemes can be accounted for as illustrators supporting the linguistic code.

As far as A's behaviour is concerned, it is representative of the hearer's behaviour during the speaker's embarrassment, although we have to bear in mind that he is a teacher whose task is to make the students talk in the foreign language. In the beginning A is also looking down, and, when B hesitates, he looks up and turns his gaze on B (see Picture 1 below). A uses both the vocal code and the visual one; he utters *yeah* and nods at the same time. The nod at *then* carries the same meaning as the previous nod + vocalisation. A's behaviour aims at a reinforcement of B's behaviour; to effect this, he uses vocalisations and emblems.



Picture no 1. Mutual gaze in Example 1.

Detail from Example 1 is shown in a discourse map (see Sajavaara et al., this volume) as follows:



The map clearly shows that nearer A has used back-channel in reassurance. The total time is only three seconds. Soon afterwards the participants burst into laughing and the tension was relieved.

The next example is from a Finnish discussion (Discussion V) with two participants. This is taken from its very beginning. The participants have decided to discuss the department syllabus.

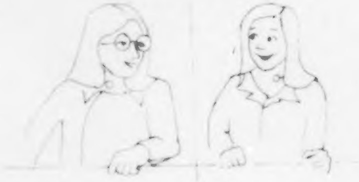
Example 2.

↑⊖⊖T QQ*
V B: nääkii on niiku muuttunu siitä kun me tultiin tänne, - ,
(these have changed too from what they were when we came here, - ,

⊖⊖
esimerkiksi approbaturissa...
for instance in the approbatur...)

QQ ⊖⊖
C: //nii onkii joo
(so they have)

This is an example of mutual gaze and its effect as affect display. B is looking at a copy of the syllabus when she starts; she actually refers to it verbally and kinesically. When she utters *we*, she looks at C, who looks back at B at the same time. They share the feeling and the knowledge and have a common bond. This also means supporting verbal code. Picture 2 illustrates the situation.



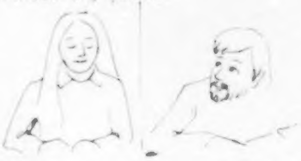
Picture no 2. Mutual gaze in Example 2.

Kinesic signals replacing verbal code. - In the examples above, kinesic signals were used to replace the verbal ones in back-channel, if there were any. The following extract (Example 3) is taken from the first discussion but this time near its end. The kinemes used are facial expressions (affect display) and have an effect on the situation which is perhaps stronger than that of words.

Example 3.

```
            OO                                    ↑    QQ
I    B: I've mostly  I've been reading something very general

                                           QQ
        now, -1,[I haven't]- well  mostly they are critics, -2,

         ⊖⊖          QQ        -O ^^ ⬭*
     Ⓐ: 1//mnm[   such as]   2// ohh

                 QQ
     B: Acheba's critics

          QQ   ⊣
     Ⓐ: who are you reading

        ●● «O»!
     B: ohhh - I can't remember the name

                  QQ
     Ⓐ: I mean is it a book of critical writings on him or what

        ⊖⊖  ↑                 QQ
     B: no  it is a book about all African writers

     Ⓐ: oh  that's  that's really interesting...
```

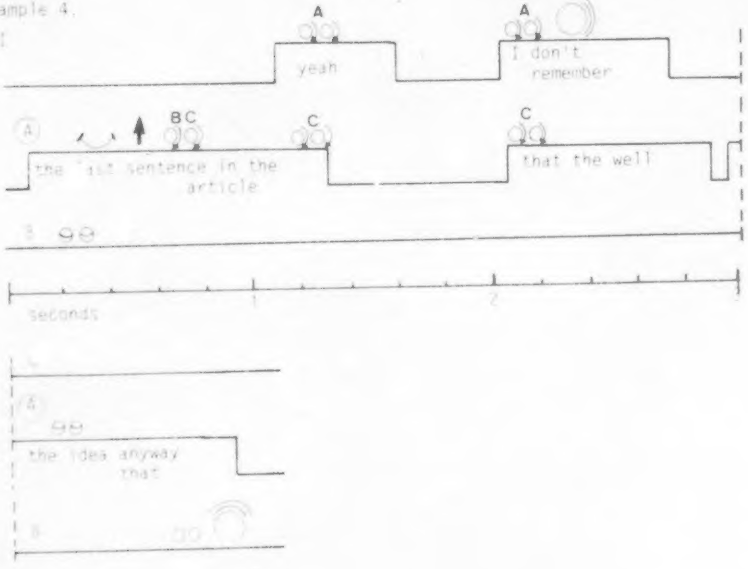
B here introduces something that was not expected by A. He is surprised; he opens his mouth some time before he utters *who*. His total facial expression, his posture, and voice are questioning, and he turns his body towards B. B seems to be concentrating on the answer; she feels uncomfortable, stirring slightly on the chair linking her hands. She pushes her head forward and shuts her eyes (see Picture 3 below). When she has her answer ready, she turns her eyes to A. This answer causes a change in A's posture. He sits back in his chair and waits for more information. When B has uttered *ethics*, A starts at once, without any pause.



Picture no 3. "Oh, I don't remember..." in Example 3.

In Example 4 A has the turn and asks a question. He turns towards B. He then points to both of the students, indicating that either of them can answer. Only C is attentive and takes the turn, but her answer does not satisfy A. Therefore, he takes the turn himself and directs his gaze away from C. B uses back-channel at the end of this scene by looking up and nodding in agreement.

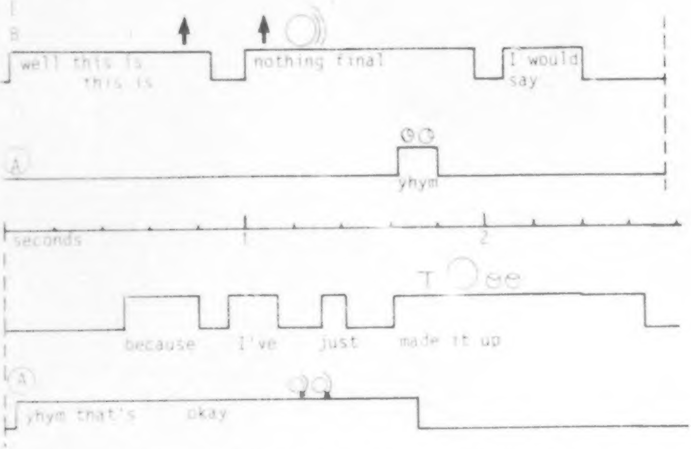
Example 4.
III



In Discussion III B's behaviour, neglecting the rules of interaction, was quite apparent. A wanted to encourage C to participate in the discussion by using gaze, gestures, and verbal feedback, but B kept looking at the papers on the table or elsewhere without giving any indication of having noticed A's attempts. This caused many simultaneous speech occurrences (see Example 7).

Kinesic signals regulating interaction. - The use of kinemes in regulating the interaction is exemplified below. Consider Example 5.

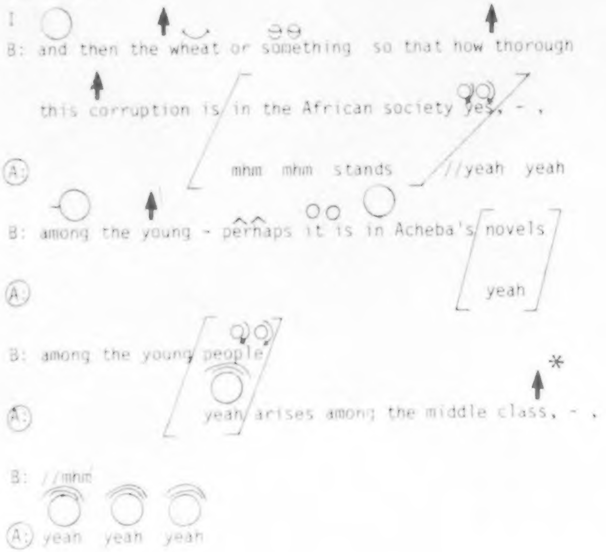
Example 5.



Just before the extract in Example 5 A asks, "This, then, is the body of your paper?", and B starts to answer, "This is the body, but...". A looks at the paper where the plan is copied out. He keeps looking at it until he thinks that B has finished and then turns his gaze on B. But B has not finished and they end up speaking simultaneously. B's gesture lasts from *this is* to *final*. She lays her hand on the table, then lifts both hands symmetrically up from the elbow and spreads the fingers out showing the palms. This gesture is stressed by a head-shake, which is a clear emblem. Before B starts this gesture, she straightens her body and lifts her head at *body, but*. This body movement shows that she has brought up a new idea.

The attempt to take the turn is seen more clearly in Example 6. Again, A starts talking before B has finished. This simultaneous speech between A and B usually ends up in A's yielding. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the teacher tries to make the students talk.

Example 6



I

B: and then the wheat or something so that how thorough

this corruption is in the African society yes, - ,

A: mhm mhm stands //yeah yeah

B: among the young - perhaps it is in Acheba's novels

A: yeah

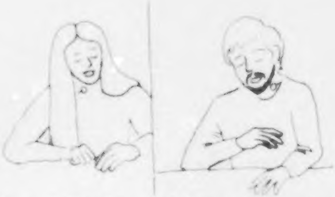
B: among the young people

A: yeah arises among the middle class, - ,

B: //mhm

A: yeah yeah yeah

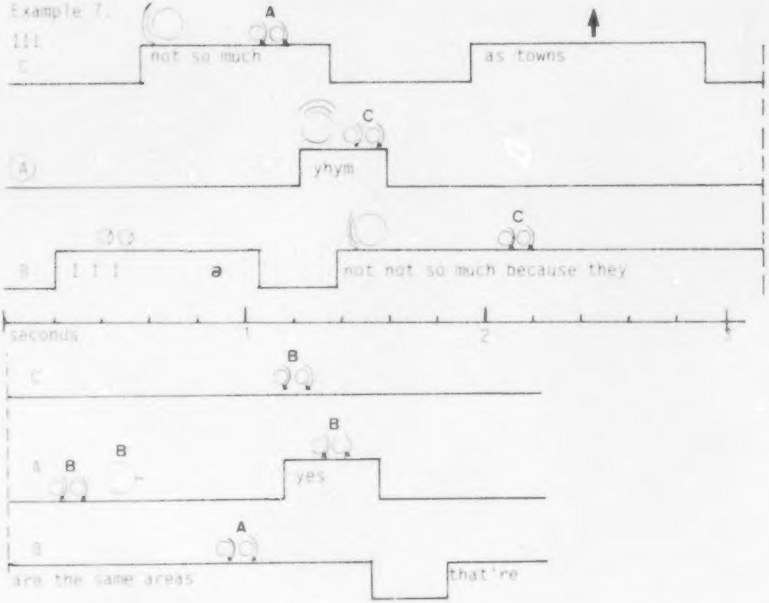
In the beginning, B looks forward with her head up. When she gets embarrassed and hesitates, since she is not sure of the right word, she turns her eyes down, smiles a little, and waves her hand. At *thorough*, she uses both hands to stress the word. A interferes through back-channel and this results in B turning her gaze on A. B then continues, since the turn is still hers. She starts a new utterance at a slow pace; she looks thoughtful with her eyebrows up and her eyes open and a straight gaze. A encourages her by means of a verbal expression, since B is not looking at A and is not able to see the kinemes. At the end of A's utterance B turns her gaze to A, who then takes the turn. Picture 4 shows, however, that she has turned her eyes away and missed A's gesture.



Picture no 4. 'Missed' gesture in Example 6.

Example 6 is an example of simultaneous speech, not simultaneous turns. At the same time it shows that when people are not sure of a word they try to transmit the meaning by using other signals.

Example 7.


III
C
A
not so much
as towns
A
C
yhym
B
I I I
ə
C
not not so much because they
seconds
1
2
3
C
B
A
B
B
B
yes
B
A
are the same areas
that're

Example 7, again, shows simultaneous speech and the importance of the gaze in the situation. It is B's turn to speak but she hesitates and is looking at neither of the other two participants. C takes the turn and answers A's question. C looks at A when she speaks, and shakes her head at *not*. When C opens her mouth, A turns towards her and gives her feedback. He keeps on looking at C the whole time she is speaking, but, as B does not cease talking, he turns to B. For as long as C is speaking, B looks at her, but B does not stop until she has said what she wants.

This is a kind of competition between B and C, and, as the turn is really B's, she keeps it and makes C surrender under her gaze. Example 8 shows the back-channel behaviour of repeated verbal signals as well as the use of gaze in regulating the discourse.

Example 8.
IV

C: niin eikos tää Englannissa oleskelu ollu pitempi
(well, hasn't this staying in England been longer

joskus aikaisemmin
sometime earlier)

B: se on kolme kuukautta ollu aikaisemmin
(it has been three months earlier)

C: joo kaks kuukautta nyt
(yes, two months now)

C looks at B when she is approaching the end of the utterance, while B does not look at C (cf. previous examples of Discussion III). B takes the turn too early and they end up with a short piece of simultaneous speech, both of them looking at their papers. This shows what happens if people do not care about the counterpart of the interaction. Here both of them made a 'mistake', C in continuing her speech, though she had signalled the end, B in not following the signals. The situation is too problematic because there are only two interactors and nobody else can interfere; it seems that B does not regard eye-contact important in interaction.

In Example 9 there are also two participants only, but they use looks and mutual gaze in regulating the situation. B starts the turn by looking down at the paper, she is concentrating and prevents C from breaking in by not looking at her. When B gets the idea, she rises slightly in the chair and her voice becomes clear, but, at the same time, she does not feel quite secure, which can be seen from her face (eyes wide open, eyebrows raised, looking forward). Asking for help she turns to C. They share a mutual gaze and answer at the same time. B then turns her gaze away and back to the paper. Later she glances at C to see if she is following, and at the end of her utterance she shows clearly that C can take the turn. This procedure is repeated elsewhere in the discussion. Both the participants share the responsibility of regulating the discourse and taking part in it. Both of them also use kinemes - gestures and head-nods - to emphasize their utterances.

Example 9.

V B: joo mä en - onks näistä - juu ja sitte oli - tuota
(well I don't - what was it - oh yes then there has
been - what

niin - mikäs se oli tää - olikse tää kymppi kohta
was it - this number - was it this number ten)

C: Sajavaaran
(Sajavaara's)

*

B: Sajavaaran - juu sitä mä vähä kattelin siinä kun -
(Sajavaara's - well that I was wondering a bit for -

oliks siinä tullu joku virhe vai - kun siinä oli ensin
had there been a mistake or - for somebody had drawn

pyyhitty yli joku kohta, - , ja sitte pantu että se
over something, - , and then put there that it would

korvaa tään B-linjan kymppi kohdan - kun oli epäselvää
be taken for the number ten of this B-part - it wasn't

kun siitä on ollu puhe että nää kymppikohdat tulee
clear to me for it has been said that these number tens

vasta lopputenttiin
belong to the final exam)

C: //nii eiks se oo vaan semmonen tuki-
(yeah isn't it only a kind of sup-

kurssi tälle, - , että sitä ei niiku tenttiä voi että
porting course for this, - , that you can't take the
exam that
B: joo(yeah)

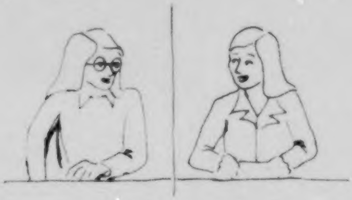
se vaan auttaa näiden kirjojen lukemista - se on kai
it just aids the reading of the books - it is then

B: //nii auttaa lukemista mhmm
(yeah helps the reading mhmm) ../.

C: niiku tämäkin tässä joku yleisesitys tästä soveltavasta
I think like this one here, some kind of a general
description of applied

kielitieteestä
linguistics)

B: juu juu
(yeah, yeah)



Picture no 5. Mutual gaze in Example 9.

DISCUSSION

The English and Finnish discussions resembled each other a great deal. There were no great differences in the use of kinemes between the native speakers of English and the Finns. One difference that struck the observer, however, was the fact that the native speakers combined the verbal and non-verbal components. They used both verbal expression, such as *yeah*, and the head-nod kineme. The non-native speakers used either component alone, mostly the verbal one. They obviously concentrated on the verbal component and wanted to use correct words with appropriate pronunciation. Their interest was in grammaticality and lexis. When they were seeking a word, they filled the pause with tiny gestures, a drawl, and facial expressions. The Finns acted as speakers only, while as hearers they escaped the interaction. According to Hackman (1977), such concentration on words is typical of non-native speakers, as is the use of stress and speech patterns of their own language. This makes their speech sound strange to the native speaker, but the native speakers were teachers who are used to non-native speech and thus the discussion was not handicapped. Similarly, in reception, students studying foreign languages want to understand every word that the native speaker utters; they concentrate on words and forget redundancy in speech. Apart from the verbal information, the student should be able to recognize and understand the interpersonal information that the speaker is sending through paralinguistic and kinesic means.

As Roussel (1978: 61-63) states, kinesic and paralinguistic elements should be observed in teaching oral skills. This can be done by using video- and audio-recordings and by pointing out the functions of paralinguistics and kinesics in discourse.

Another possible reason for less use of body signals by the non-native speakers is the cultural setting. As Argyle (1975) points out, the use of body signals varies from culture to culture. For instance, the Greek feel neglected in England because people do not stare at him the way they do in Greece. Both Finland and England belong to the non-contact cultures, where people look less, touch less, and stand farther apart.

The status of the participants and the situation affect the discourse. The situation was strange to all participants. It was a normal teaching situation initially, familiar to them, but it was transferred to a studio, where two TV-cameras were aimed at them, two microphones were pointed at them, each of them had a throat-microphone, and bright lights were shone on them. Nevertheless, the participants said that they forgot the equipment after a while. There was also the teacher, the native speaker, and a teacher is always a teacher. He is superior to the students as regards status, and he is supposed to grade the students according to their ability to use the foreign language. This distinction affected the behaviour of the non-native speakers as well as that of the native speakers.

The non-native speakers thought that they were expected to concentrate only on lexis and similar points, and they did not have enough courage to be themselves and take part in the discussion in a full capacity. They waited to be drawn in when there was more than one student. It was easier when there was only one, because there was no ambiguity as to who was addressed. When the students had the turn, they looked at the teacher, not at the other interactors. When they were hearers, they looked at the person who was talking, but also at the teacher, to be sure that he accepted the speaker's ideas. The interaction mostly took place between one non-native speaker and the native speaker, not between all the participants.

Because of unwillingness, shyness, or social pressure, the non-native speakers tended to look at their papers and did not notice for whom the question was meant. This caused silences, misunderstandings, and simultaneous speech. The non-native speakers, the students, left the responsibility for the interaction to the teacher, and he accepted it. He tried every possible way to make the discussion flow. When one of the students made an attempt to talk, even though hardly recognizable, he stopped talking, looked at the speaker, nodded, used a soft and quiet voice, and tried to encourage him to go on. This was true also in the Finnish discussions, where there was no teacher present. The students were of the same age and status, and there was no leader to draw them in, and so they had to share the responsibility. They were willing to participate and observed the discussion the whole time both as speakers and as hearers. They looked at each other when speaking and when listening, sometimes competed for the turns, and also used somewhat more body signals.

The kinemes used by the students varied according to their personal characteristics. There were differences between the native speakers of English as well. One used more and larger kinemes than the other. The same applied with the non-native speakers. Some of them used more kinemes than others. The difference remained the same in the Finnish discussions. The ones who had used more kinemes in the English discussions used also them in the Finnish ones, and vice versa. In both discussions the students behaved in the same way and used the same communication devices. They mostly used verbal expressions and a few kinemes only. People adjust their kinesic behaviour to situational cues, but each person does this to the extent and in a way that is typical of him (Rosenfeld & Civikly 1976).

In both the English and the Finnish conversations the students used only their hands, from the elbow down, their heads in nods and shakes, their faces, and their bodies slightly when changing posture. They did not change their orientation or stand up and change places, but the situation and the equipment restricted the use of these means. The throat-microphone prevented the participant from getting up and changing places or from just moving about. Moreover, the setting at a table implied that they were supposed to sit down.

In all the discussions the participants followed the rules of turn-taking (Kendon, Duncan) in most cases. The speaker looked at the individual or individuals he wanted to give the turn to. The hearer looked at the speaker during the change but then turned his gaze away. If the speaker did not want to give the turn, he did not complete his gesture until he had finished the turn.

It can be concluded that cultural differences between the English and the Finns do not affect the use of kinemes very much. The situation and differences in status and personality variables have much more significance in body communication. It was also observed that the students did not know how to interact, and what interaction or interactional discourse could or should be attempted when it was profitable. Interaction requires linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic skills. Without these, the interaction is not complete. In the discussions studied here the students concentrated on the linguistic skills which had been taught to them and in which they were expected to be competent. Sometimes they failed in them, but, more often and more importantly, they failed in the other skills.

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CONVERSATION MANAGEMENT FROM A CONTRASTIVE POINT OF VIEW

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INTRODUCTION

When we are learning to interact in a foreign language, the learning of the correct formulation of cognitive messages is not enough. We need to acquire a knowledge of relevant and proper codes, channels and expressions appropriate to different situations involving different people (Basso 1971: 69). In order to equip foreign language learners with these necessary skills, not only the learners' communicative needs should be studied in greater detail but also the kinds of everyday activities and uses of languages in various face-to-face encounters typical of the native and foreign speech communities in question. Such a mapping of the cultural differences and/or similarities in conversations in encounter situations will greatly facilitate the learning of the required conversational social skills along with the learners' more formal language learning task.

MACRO- AND MICRO-LEVELS OF STUDY

An approach to the study of conversations occurring in social encounters may be made from a macro-level or a micro-level point of view: in the former the interest lies in discovering the particular constituents of the realized conversations. For example, casual conversations (ie. the conversations whose primary function is to establish and maintain social relationships) may include such structural elements as *Greeting*, *Approach*, *Identification*, *Address*, *Centering*, *Leave-taking* and *Goodbye*. Whether individual elements are realized or not and whether the realizates follow a particular sequence or not depends on the time available in the encounter as well as on the existing social distance between the participants (Ventola 1979). For each type of conversation, ie. for each register, a Structure Potential (SP) (see Hasan 1979) can be established. This is a formula showing all the various possibilities open for the organization of the elements in conversations (for examples of SP in shopping encounters see Hasan 1979 and in casual encounters see Ventola 1979; for cultural differences and similarities in English and Finnish casual conversations see Ventola 1978:23-50).

The micro-level of the study of conversations is concerned with the question of how we guarantee that the flow of interactional discourse remains unhindered between the interactants. According to Firth (1935: 29), each interactant is partly responsible for maintaining the conversation. The adult members of any speech community must know their roles and lines in the play of social interaction. The purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, what is actually going on when two or more people 'know their roles and lines' and are involved in *interactional discourse*, ie. they are exchanging communicative moves, will be discussed. For the purpose of 'carrying' the content the interactants use cognitive moves but, while talking, they also use purely 'contentless' moves which are important for the flow of interaction but insignificant as far as 'advancing the information process' is concerned. It is hoped that a closer examination of turn-taking and the interactant role functions will clarify the distinction between these moves.

Secondly, for the sake of understanding the maintenance of interactional discourse, a particular aspect which is comparable to what Firth (1935) calls 'knowing one's lines', Goffman (1955) 'maintaining one's face' and what in Halliday's and Hasan's (1976) terminology is very close to 'putting texture into texts' must be studied. In this paper this aspect is termed *conversation management devices* (CMDs), ie. the lexically expressed means of managing the flow of conversation between the interactants. By using CMDs we can regulate and guide the discourse in the required direction. The devices work as a negotiation process for developing the conversation further. They secure and regulate as well as modify the actual dialogue. By using CMDs the interactants may 'fill silence' in the sense that CMDs can be employed during the silences that might occur and in this way the talk is kept going on and embarrassment can be avoided.

For a native speaker CMDs are self-evident and their production in natural conversations creates no difficulties. A learner of foreign languages is, however, in a different position. The learner's communicative moves may often seem clumsy and stumbling, perhaps even out of context. This may lead to embarrassment among interactants and to the feeling of a failure in communication. We need to train language learners to use language socially: to maintain a smooth flow of communicative moves while interacting. We need to make a language learner aware of the systematics of turn-taking, how CMDs are used in his mother tongue and how native speakers of the target language use them.

THE DATA

One and a half hours of transcribed spontaneous conversation were analyzed with the issues of turn-taking and CMDs borne in mind. The texts belong to the register of casual conversation (for a definition see Ventola 1979), it being the most obvious register where the interactants are expected to participate equally in a conversation (in some registers, eg. in panel discussions, the interactants' participation is restricted) and where the CMDs are most likely to occur due to the participants' desire to exploit the flow of interactional discourse in his/her own interests.

TURN-TAKING AND PARTICIPANT ROLES IN INTERACTIONAL DISCOURSE

Turn-taking systematics. - Turn-taking is a necessity in any conversation. The first turn 'switch' takes place when the participants in an encounter perform their first speaking duties. In face-to-face encounters the interactant who initiates the activity is the 1st speaker, but in telephone conversations, for example, as Schegloff (1968) points out, the caller is the one who initiates the activity and the called is the 1st speaker. During his first turn a speaker expresses at least one coherently formulated message. This message can be as short as a greeting or, for example, a situational remark concerning the weather. After having expressed this message the 1st speaker allocates the turn to one of his listeners, who now switches to a speaker-role (S-role) as the 2nd speaker. The 1st speaker now starts listening to the 2nd speaker, ie. he adopts the listener-role (L-role). Constant turn-taking has begun (for various non-verbal and paralinguistic cues available to interactants for the purpose of predicting the occurrence of the turn-switch see eg. Kendon 1967, Argyle 1972 and Duncan 1974).

Turn-taking is a complex phenomenon and various scholars have tried to pinpoint its systematics. When two-party conversations are considered, the systematics may appear fairly orderly and simple. Schegloff (1968) together with Sacks (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) give two principal rules for turn-taking in these conversations: (1) the turns follow an ABAB- 1st and 2nd speaker-sequence and abab- turn sequence, ie speaker-change re-occurs and (2) one party talks at a time. An imaginary conversation is constructed below to demonstrate the sequence pattern - a child has come to ask a neighbour's child to play with him; the first person he encounters is the other child's mother:

Child-1st speaker	A: Hi!	a1
Mother-2nd speaker	B: Oh Hello!	b1
Child-1st S	A: Is Joe at home?	a2
Mother-2nd S	B: No he isn't. Why?	b2
Child-1st S	A: Oh I was just wondering if he wanted to play etc.	a3

It can be noticed how a greeting is responded to with another greeting. The speaking turn is handed back to A, who in a2 produces the reason for his visit, presenting it in a question form which B is then obliged to answer (see eg. Sacks 1972: 230) by b2. In her turn, however, the mother presents a question, which the child is then obliged to answer by a3. Thus, a five-step turn-taking has set the conversation well under way. It can be seen that the turn-taking structure is based on turns which the other participant is obliged to answer. Such sequences are termed adjacency pairs (AP) (for the detailed definition of AP, see Schegloff 1968, Sacks 1972, Schegloff and Sacks 1973 and Sacks et al. 1974). An AP is formed by two turns produced by different speakers. The second part of an AP must be relevant to its first part. Thus, greeting-greeting, question-answer, offer-acceptance/refusal etc. are examples of APs. The turn-allocation function of an AP is probably most obvious at the beginning and end of conversations. In the middle of the interactional discourse its allocation power may become fuzzy - a point which is taken up later.

The description of turn-taking becomes more difficult when there are more than two participants. In such conversations, especially if they take place between friends, a speaking turn is highly sought after. Among friends talking is universally considered and experienced as 'socially enjoyable and rewarding'. How are turns allocated now? How long is a participant expected to speak? Does he know how to give up the turn or will he end up conducting a boring monologue?

Sacks et al. (1974) have proposed a turn-taking organization which, in their view (1974: 699), is "context free and capable of extraordinary context-sensitivity". A turn in their system is constructed of such units as a sentence, a clause, a phrase or a lexical item. When the speaker comes, in his turn, to the end of one of these elements, the change of turns occurs at that point, ie. the speaker takes an L-role and the previous listener switches to an S-role. The points where the present speaker has a possibility of completing his turn are called 'transition-relevance places'. Sacks et al. present three hierarchic, recursive rules according to which turn-taking takes place at the transition points (due to limitations of space the rules are not dealt with here, but the reader may refer to Sacks et al.'s (1974) article). They also present other mechanisms which create a turn-switch: APs as well as tag-questions function in this way.

The turn-taking systematics proposed by Sacks et al. can be considered a remarkable step towards the understanding of many typical and frequent phenomena in interactional discourse. It explains, for example, why simultaneous starts appear in conversations, as well as reasons for overlapping (Sacks et al. 1974: 706-707). By distinguishing three types of silences in turn-taking - pauses, gaps and lapses - Sacks et al. (1974: 714-715) explain the continuity and fluency of talk. The system presented also illustrates how an 'intrinsic motivation' for the conversation is built up in participants (Sacks et al. 1974: 727-728).

Even though Sacks et al.'s system is a significant contribution to the study of discourse systematics, a few points should be made. Sacks et al. present their system as context-free. It is the present writer's opinion that in the analysis of turn-taking the context within which the conversation takes place needs to be considered. Attention should be paid as to how a particular register and its variables influence specific interactional discourse. For example, in formal, controlled situations the speakers follow each other in turns in an orderly manner - eg. in a classroom a teacher allocates turns to the pupils; in a panel discussion a chairperson performs this task - the participants know exactly when they are expected to be silent and when to speak. This clear-cut allocation of turns is an effect of the social roles of the participants. These roles affect our eagerness or readiness to acquire the next turn. We are far more eager to get a turn at a possible transition point when we are talking casually with our friends. But when our conversational partner is socially superior to ourselves, it is very likely that we do not always want to take up the next speaking turn, although it would be possible at a particular place. Rather, we refrain from talking too much (perhaps for such reasons as politeness).

Content-based analysis of turns and turn-taking. - Much of the confusion concerning turn-taking stems from the problem of what constitutes a turn. This problem has been acknowledged by Coulthard (1977: 62). He points out that "most analysts accept that nods of agreement and murmurs of assent do not count" as a turn. Schegloff (1968) and Sacks et al. (1974) represent this view. They assign all turns an equal status. In Schegloff's analysis of telephone conversations the *uhuhs* and *hms* count in the turn-taking sequence but not as turns. He writes (1968: 404) that as an answer to a summons a participant can produce either an 'extended utterance' or an 'assent term' (eg. *uhuh*, *hm*, *yeah*). By doing this the interactant is simply renewing his obligation to listen to the summoner, in other words he retains his L-role. Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 246) speak of 'passing' the turn. By producing a pre-closing such as *well*, *so*, *OK*, which constitutes the whole speaking turn, the interactant indicates that he has nothing more or new to add and he gives the next turn to anyone who either has something to add to the previous topic or can introduce a new topic. Duncan (1974) speaks of 'back-channel behaviour', referring also to these verbal, paralinguistic and non-verbal phenomena which he does not see as turns but which can be as long as a turn. He admits, however, that they contribute greatly to the progress of the conversation flow.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 260) write: "the organization of speaker turns...generates an indefinitely extendable, but internally undifferentiated, string of turns". There would seem to be a need to differentiate between turns. Turns differ in content. Some turns are more important in terms of content, others in terms of discourse. It can hardly be disputed that, whenever conversing, we all seem to produce these contentless non-turns, ie. assent/feedback turns. By no means should we try to get rid of them in our performance - how distressing it would be to speak to a person who neither seems to pay attention to what we are saying nor encourages us in the difficult task of expressing our ideas. We simply have to find a way to account for these factors if we are to understand interactional discourse as a social happening, a social event (Hasan 1978). A content-based analysis of turn-taking is therefore put forward in this paper.

Similarly to Goffman (1976: 271), in the present analysis a turn is used in reference to "an opportunity to hold the floor, not what is said while holding it", ie. whatever one speaker says before the other interactant starts speaking constitutes a turn. A turn may be constructed of one or more communicative *moves* (a term borrowed from Coulthard 1977), which may coalesce with such grammatical units as a clause, a phrase, a word. A turn may, however, also be constructed of paralinguistic and non-verbal moves. Such moves must be communicative in relation to the text which is being produced - they must have the same function as their verbal counterparts and be replacable by them without a change in the content's meaning. Thus, a verbal 'assent' *Yeah that's right* can be replaced by a non-verbal head nod or a paralinguistic *Uhuh*. Rubbing one's nose or pulling one's ear would not, at least in our Western culture, have the same effect. A move is thus a structural unit and carries out either the cognitive or the interactional content of a turn. How the interactants use either message moves (M-moves: cognitive) or feedback moves (FB-moves: interactional) or both for constructing their turns will be shown below.

Participant roles. - Before discussing the M-moves and the FB-moves in detail acquaintance should be made with the roles in which the participants perform during the flow of interactional discourse. Hasan (1978: 232-233) distinguishes three types of participant roles: social, textual and participatory. Attention has already been drawn to social roles and how they may influence conversation (in the data these roles were non-hierarchic, ie. friend-friend or stranger-stranger, and are therefore not considered as influencing the conversational flow greatly and will not be dealt with further). By textual roles are meant interchangeable speaker-listener (S-L) roles. When the interactant sequence is referred to the participants as 1st speaker and 2nd speaker, etc. are meant. Participatory roles are the roles of an initiator (I) and respondent (R). The function of these roles is to set the interaction going. The notion of participatory roles needs further elaboration.

The conversation is started by participants in I- and R-roles. In an AP like Greeting-Greeting, the 1st speaker is in an I-role and the

2nd speaker in an R-role. The latter gives FB to the former. After the first initial exchange of turns the textual roles (S-L) seem to take over. The 1st speaker produces a turn which the 2nd speaker is obliged to answer. This happens, for example, in the imaginary conversation on page112: b2 is a response to a2. Upon closer examination it can be noticed that b2 really has two parts: *No he isn't* is the response to a2. The second part, *Why?*, already has a different function - advancing the conversation further. The question as to which role B is playing now arises.

It was stated above that R gives FB to I. Logically, after the take-over of the textual roles the task of providing FB for the current S is the responsibility of L. If he is to give his FB verbally, like the mother in b2 in the imaginary conversation above, he needs to hold the floor and speak - according to what has been stated above, he is taking S-role, although he is actually only fulfilling the task of L. Had the mother only shook her head or murmured something a change in textual roles could not be claimed. This is the point earlier referred to with 'the fuzziness of the turn allocation power of AP'. When the second part of the AP-question 'Is Joe at home?' is *No he isn't* or *Yeah*, the person saying it is considered to be in an S-role, but if he gives a nod or a paralinguistic *Uhuh* as an answer, he is considered to be L. In the present writer's opinion the items in italics above are functionally all the same: they are proper communicative answers to the presented question. The situation seems to be paradoxical: the interactant who is delivering the socially and interactionally important or requested FB to S is sometimes considered to be in an S-role and sometimes in an L-role.

To clarify this discrepancy attention should be paid to the three types of roles functioning simultaneously (Hasan 1978: 232). Varying in dominance, the social roles are carried out by the interactants throughout the duration of the conversation. Since they are not the major issue here the earlier reference to their impact on turn-taking suffices. In addition to some social role(s), a participant may at the same time hold the floor (S-role) and initiate (I-role) the conversation. As both Hasan (1978) and Schegloff (1968) imply, however, I does not necessarily have to be the 1st speaker (eg. in telephone conversations the summoner is I and the summoned R). It should be pointed out that neither does R necessarily have to be the 2nd speaker. An example of this would be when a mother comes into her daughter's room and initiates a conversation by asking her: 'Did you go to the university today?' (note that no greetings are exchanged since the participants have already seen each other several times during the day). The daughter has the following options of how to respond: (a) *Uhuh*, (b) (*nods*), [illegible]) *Yeah I did*, (d) *Yeah I had to*, and (e) *I had to*.

In (a) and (b) the daughter is in an R-role without switching from an L-role to an S-role. In (c) she actually takes the floor (S-role) when she is in the R-role. The communicative move she produces is, however, equivalent to (a) and (b) (FB-move). The first part of (d), *yeah*, is also functionally the same as (a), (b), and (c), but the latter part of (d), *I had to*, is not equitable to FB-moves (a), (b), (c) and *yeah* in (d). It would seem to be the case here that the daughter is already advancing the information flow in the conversation by making a communicative move which carries a message content (M-move). She simultaneously holds the floor and functions as an information-giver (cf. an S who holds the floor but who is only giving an FB-response to the previous S's turn). This latter role can be termed an informer-role (INF). It is this role that takes over the task of advancing the information flow in the conversation after I has first set the interaction going. What is of the utmost importance is the recognition that an R-to-INF-role change may take place in the middle of S's holding the floor. Thus, in (d), the daughter is in an R-role when answering *yeah* but switches to INF and 'takes the reins' for the purpose of leading the informational flow. In option (e) the daughter seems to launch directly into an INF-role at the same time as she is taking the floor (S-role). An ellipsis of FB takes place in this case. The underlying move structure of (e) can be presented as (the roles in which the interactant performs are shown in the parenthesis and Merritt's (1976: 326) example is followed in marking the ellipsis):

daughter: (R) $\boxed{\text{yeah}}$ (INF) I had to.

Ellipsis plays an important role in turn-taking. Merritt (1976), who has studied the function of ellipsis in the discourse of service encounters, notes that elliptical responses are the result of the interactant's desire to reach 'maximal appropriateness' in his moves. He takes into consideration the context within which the discourse takes place and then employs the best, most economical and, from his point of view, most appropriate communicative moves for his turns. Whenever an interactant gives only FB he faces the danger that the previous S will decide to continue and will not allow him to have the floor as INF. Thus, to make sure of the simultaneous allocation of S- and INF-roles, he uses ellipsis. The previous S-INF must now be content being an L. By turning down the socially and interactionally expected FB-move, FB itself is not totally omitted. The fact that the interactants also get continuous FB from the on-going development of the text should be borne in mind.

Following the above description of how an interactant engages himself in several roles simultaneously within a speaking turn and how these roles may change even in the middle of the holding of the floor the turns themselves can now be examined more closely.

Message moves. - M-moves, which express an interactant's cognitive and informative messages, have three subcategories: (1) *Statements* (M1), in which an interactant puts forward a single proposition. Statements, like other M-moves, may differ in importance (cf. M1s 'It's a beautiful day today' and 'Your house is on fire'). Also found are (2) *presupposition inquiries* (M2): S presupposes something in his move but as he is not quite certain about the state of affairs he formulates his M into a question-formula 'Is the state of affairs as I presuppose?' (this can also be realized by rising intonation, eg. 'That black pen is yours?' vs. an M1 'That black pen is yours'). When the interactant wants information he uses (3) *information requests* (M3) (usually realized by an Wh-element). A turn may, of course, include more than one M-move either from the same or a different category. An example from each category is given below (to reduce the number of examples only English examples are used for the theoretical discussion; for Finnish examples see Ventola 1978):

M1 - (1) B: *So we got off, Cockie and I got off the beat and John went off...fishing for a while* (two M1s)

M2 - (2) A: *Are you from...you from Sydney,* [aren't you?
B: [I'm from Sydney, yeah

M3 - (3) A: *How long have you been here?*
B: Oh well, this is the third week here.

Feedback moves. - It is common knowledge that as soon as the conversation has started the interactants are no longer totally free in selecting the content of the following turns (Goffman 1967: 11). Thus, the provided FB must also suit the previous turn presented. Naturally (especially after M1) L has the option of giving no FB (ø-FB), in which case the previous S continues holding the floor and being INF by giving another M-move. If S was prepared to terminate his turn and give up his INF-role, a pause is likely to occur between the two M-moves. Usually ø-FB is disturbing to the flow of information and it may even result in an abrupt change of topic. FB can also be elliptical, as in the following example:

(4) B: (S-INF: M1) Cockie and I got off the boat (M1) and
John went off... [fishing for a while.
C: [(S-INF: M1) *But she did make a great*
hit with the guy who ran the boat shed.

In (4) C wants to add important information to the text content and thus, neglecting his obligation to give FB, he launches directly into S-INF-roles, further securing his turn by an early start of his M1. In spite of the possibility of using ø-FB or ellipsis-FB FB-moves (verbal, paralinguistic and non-verbal) are found to be indeed widely used in casual conversations, mainly for expressing that L has understood "the meaningfulness and relevance of the statement and that a relevant reaction is now provided" (Goffman 1976: 279) and for creating co-operation.

The kind of FB-moves each M-move receives and the role the participant has when giving the FB-moves need consideration. (Since the data were recorded material, not videotaped, the examples are all verbally expressed FB. Reference will be made to paralinguistic and non-verbal FB-moves only.) By (1) *reaction FB-move* (FB1) an interactant expresses his reaction towards the presented M1: his agreement/disagreement, liking/disliking, interest, etc. *Yeah, I agree, That's great* and *Gosh* are examples of verbally expressed FB1. When an interactant gives his FB1 verbally, he launches into a textual S-role but keeps a participatory R-role:

(5) A: (S-INF: M1) Sydney is too big for me.
B: (S-R: FB1) *It is big,* isn't it? (agreement)

Here interactant B even secures his position of not needing to take the INF-role by handing the initiative back to A with a tag-question. It may naturally also happen that after giving his FB1 R 'steals' the INF-role. The role change happens when he stops producing FB1 and starts an M-move. Here we have an example where it happens twice:

(6) B: (S-INF: M1) I have grandchildren// but I let their
A: (L-R: FB2) Oh!
B: parents worry about them (laugh)
A: (S-R: FB1) *Yes, that's much better.* (S-INF: M1) You've done your share (laugh)
B: (S-R: FB1) *Yeah, that's right*...(S-INF: M2) You, you spending the whole year?

When paralinguistic *Uhuhs* and *Hms* and non-verbal *nods* and *head shakes* are used as FB1 the interactant giving them neither takes the floor nor the INF-role.

(2) *Keep-going FB-moves* (FB2) are also used after M1. They function as 'listening and attention signals' to S-INF and encourage him to continue: 'keep going, I'm listening; so far I have understood but I want to hear more before expressing my opinion'. FB2 can be verbal (*yeah, yes, I see*), paralinguistic or non-verbal. It never involves a change into INF-role.

(7) B: (S-INF: M1) he wanted us to come up (M1) and see his pets // (M1) so we had to climb up to the loft.
A: (S-R: FB2) *Yeah*

Presupposition inquiries (M2) receive (3) *affirmation-negation FB* (FB3). L has heard the presupposition in S's move and it is now his task either to affirm or to negate the 'truth value' of the presupposition (verbally, paralinguistically or non-verbally). When FB3 occurs by itself after M2, it does not cause a change into an INF-role:

(8) B: (S-INF: M2) You know Peter Morley?
A: (S-R: FB3) *No* (negation)
B: (S-INF: M1) He's one of the lecturers at the university.

This is because M2 is directed to a particular interactant and that interactant is now obliged to give some FB, no matter how phatic or stereotyped. The change into an INF-role happens if the interactant to whom M2 was directed uses elliptical-FB:

(9) B: (S-INF: M2) Are you going on a tour?
A: (S-R: FB3) No. (S-INF: M1) Uhm, I'm going just by myself.

Information requests (M3) receive (4) *informative FB-moves* as an answer. In other words, the previous S receives the information requested:

(10) A: (S-INF: M3) How long have you been away from ... Melbourne?

B: (S-INF: IFB) *Oh, I've been living away for twenty years.*

It is obvious that in some cases the interactant addressed does not have the required information. Nevertheless, he has to let S know the information is not available by saying eg. *I don't know.* IFBs are normally realized verbally, although non-verbal ones are also possible. If, for example, a boy who has just taken a big bite out of a sandwich is asked how old he is, he may lift up four fingers designating that he is four years of age. This non-verbal IFB must be considered a proper answer to the presented question. It fulfils the function of IFB: advancing both the flow of information as well as the flow of interactional discourse; the other FB-moves only advance the latter. In loud factories and workshops an IFB can often be expressed non-verbally. Similarly foreigners, when not able to speak the language, may also rely on non-verbal IFBs.

Figure 1. summarizes the options the interactant faces at turn-taking. Firstly, he has to decide whether to react at all (ø-FB). If he decides to take action he has to decide whether he will employ an M-move or an FB-move. If he decides to produce an FB-move, he will have to choose a particular mode to deliver his FB-move.

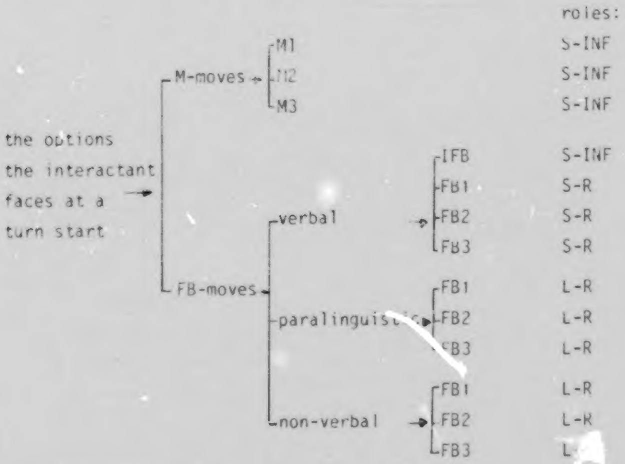
roles:
M1
S-INF
M-moves
M2
S-INF
M3
S-INF
the options the interactant faces at a turn start
IFB
S-INF
FB1
S-R
verbal
FB2
S-R
FB3
S-R
FB-moves
FB1
L-R
paralinguistic
FB2
L-R
FB3
L-R
FB1
L-R
non-verbal
FB2
L-R
FB3
L

Figure 1. Interactant's options at turn-taking.

Enrichment and feedback turns. - By definition the turns which include only FB-moves (excluding IFBs) are called *FB-turns* (FBT). They provide S-INF with the knowledge of his listeners' assurance, understanding, acceptance etc. of the content of his M-moves. Often, however, the interactant who gives FB does not hand back the right to speak to S-INF but starts expressing his own M-moves. R-INF-role change takes place. The turn in process now also includes an M-move: it has become an *enrichment turn* (ET). The difference between ETs and FBTs is that the latter advance only the flow of interaction while the former advance both the information flow and the interaction flow in the discourse at the same time. As far as content is concerned, ie. for advancing conversations from one topic to another, from one structural element to another, ETs are necessary, but FBTs are no less significant in interactional terms. They guarantee that the text is going on - even though the information process might be static for a while. Interactants hardly ever give cognitive messages continuously, at least not in casual conversations. The interaction between the participants must, however, be continuous: FB-moves and turns are ultimately required after each S's turn - for the sake of co-operation. Whether they are realized or not naturally depends on the context and the participants involved. The development of interactional discourse can be envisaged in the following way: the conversation includes two lines of development - the line of information and that of interaction. The former advances in spurts but the latter is a continuous line throughout the whole conversation (except where short silences occur). An experimental analysis of two excerpts of natural discourse is presented in the Appendix.

CONVERSATIONAL MANAGEMENT DEVICES

How the interactants in casual conversations build up M- and FB-moves into ETs and FBTs was seen above - the result being a smoothly running conversation with enough informative content and which, at the same time, brings social pleasure to the interactants. While talking, however, we also simultaneously take a stand towards the others and towards the creation of the text. Although we are following the basic principles of politeness towards our co-interactants, nevertheless, we are fairly egotistic when conversing: we want to further the conversation in our own interest; we want to emphasize certain matters or bring in new topics. Sometimes we need to check whether our partners approve our messages; sometimes we need more time to think how to continue with what we are saying. For the purpose of directing and modifying the discourse, native speakers of English and Finnish, whether in an INF-role or an R-role, frequently attach stereotyped expressions to their moves. These expressions are here called *conversation management devices* (CMD). From the language-learning point of view a comparison of the English and Finnish devices is interesting and applicable to language teaching. Due to the scope of the paper lexical CMDs only are dealt with here (studies of paralinguistic and non-verbal devices are, however, by no means less important). A few examples of each category are given (for further examples see Ventola 1978: 86-114).

S-INF - message. - Each S-INF has certain obligations towards his co-interactants. Firstly, he must signal *his own attitude towards the topic and the messages* he is going to express about it. In other words, he must make his own point of view of looking at the messages obvious to his conversational partners. S-INF may express (1) *emphasis towards the content of his messages*, eg.:

(11) B: You should have seen Cockie in a boat...we were taking Cockie in a boat at Lane Cove and she *really* liked it.

(12) B: kun me siinä mentiin niin ne (PEURAT) just sen maantien niinku vasemmalla puolella, sinne ne juoksi sinne ja... // ei kun sen-

G: oikealla puolella*han*

Other expressions of emphasis occurring in the English data were *especially* and *of course*. The Finnish data contained such CMDs of emphasis as *kyllä*, *tietysti* and *ainakin*. Language learners should be warned against a very extensive use of emphasis as it may endanger the formation of 'solidary social relationships' in conversation (Brown 1977: 117).

A CMD can be used to express (2) *S-INF's tentative opinions*. It signals that the message is meant to be suggestive - the option of later modifying the discourse is retained. By making his message tentative S-INF invites other participants' reactions to his move (Brown 1977: 122). *I think*, *I suppose*, *I guess*, *probably* in the English data and *minusta*, *kai* and *taitaa* in the Finnish data were used in this way:

(13) B: it was at the Ross River that it (THE ACCIDENT) happened
and I *think* it's because I went through a little stream
and then, when the breaks dried they pulled to one side.

(14) A: se on aika jännä tilanne sitten että...sitä (EHDOTELMAA)
ei rakenneta joka saa sen palkinnon. Aika *kai* harvinainen
kuulemma tommonen tilanne.

CMDs also exist for (3) *expressing uncertainty on S-INF's part*. He presents a 'common assumption' and wants to make it clear that the validity of the move might be in doubt.

(15) A: se toinen (EHDOTELMA) se pitäis tulla *kuulemma* sitten,
vaikka se voitti se arkkitehtikilpailussa se ensimmäinen.

Similarly S-INF may even doubt the validity of his own moves - he does not know exactly what the case is or he may not remember what exactly the state of the affairs was:

(16) B: you have a ticket booked now.
A: yeah, I paid for it [too...so I guess...they won't
B: [yeah
A: give it [back to me.
B: [they might give you a refund, *I don't know*, it's
worth a try.

(4) *Point-making devices* are used when S-INF wants to express that 'the opening of a new stage in communication' is to follow.

(17) C: We had an outboard and it was making a terrible racket.
It was terrifying. She (COCKIE) really didn't like it.
B: *So* we gott off, Cockie and I got off the boat

This type of CMD is often included to draw the co-interactant's attention to the new additional information or opinion:

(18) A: Gee it's cold here.
B: No it's warmer than it was last week.
A: (laugh) In the mornings?
B: Oh yeah, *still*, *still* it was much colder in the mornings
last week. It's fairly warm now.

(19) E: Vai tansseissa sinä olit.
F: Ai niin eilen?
D: *Ohan* se käynyt monta kertaa jo.

(5) *Attitudinal devices* express S-INF's sentiments towards the message: what he finds surprising, amazing, funny, amusing, strange or horrible:

(20) C: *It's funny* though, he had nets hanging around and everything, *it was funny*.

(21) A: *Kivahan se on*, kun aattelee ett' on nuori ja viisas niin *kyllä se kiva on* kun matkustaa ett'...näkkee.

S-INF - *co-interactant*. - S-INF's LMDs should also be examined from the point of view how he establishes and maintains a good 'working relationship' with his co-interactants. First to be considered are what may be called (1) *attention-fixers*. When there are more than two interactants present S-INF has to make sure that his message will reach the co-interactant for whom it is intended. He may draw the individual's attention by using 'calls' (Corder 1973: 43), eg. by using personal names. Other attention-fixers are also available, however. These devices mostly refer to the senses of listening, seeing and hearing:

(22) B: I had to wrap her around in a towel and cuddle her when we were in the boat.

C: *Listen, Sue*. It could have been noisy, the engine, it had an outboard on it.

(23) B: ja (KOIRA) kolaa ja rapaa siinä sit ja se menee rinkiä *nääs* ja...sit' kun sen pistää tohon kiinni *kuule*, niin se nukkuu koko yön tyytyväisenä.

By using (2) *attention-understanding check-up devices* S-INF continuously checks whether the co-interactant is still following what he is saying, whether he understands the message. A further explicatory move can be added if S-INF, after using a check-up and receiving FB to it, still feels uncertain whether his message has been correctly understood:

(24) A: Not really much to see outside.

B: No, once you've got...(out of the station).

A: Hm, dirty backyards of the railway stations.

B: Yeah...that's the poor side of Melbourne, I think, *you know*...the more industrial side.

(25) A: mä sanoin ett' kai sä nyt lahdet mukaan (KYLAAN) ja se oli vihanen kun sen täyty lahtee *nääs*//ja sitten se

B&D: yhyh

A: tappeli kotona oikein kun vieraita tuli *nääs*, kun se joutu kotona olemaan, ei se päässytkään kylaan.

Whenever S-INF notices that he is not making himself quite clear, he employs a (3) *clarification-introduction*. He lets the co-interactant know that a clarification is about to follow:

(26) B: Whereabouts are you [going?...in]land?
A: [in Sydney?]
B: *I mean-*
A: I'm in Sydney...oh.
B: Yes...are you going on a tour?

(27) A: siellä oli niin kivoja siellä sitten niitä teattereja
ja, *taikka* oopperat ja ne konsertit ja kaikki niin...
voi että, oli kiva...kun se Tuula, jonka luona mä sitten
olin siellä, *taikka* yksissä oltiin niin

S-INF's main purpose in uttering his message is to inform his co-interactants. However, the listeners may often feel doubtful about the content of S-INF's moves. In this situation he must try (4) *to convince* his co-interactants.

(28) B: this (CARRIAGE FOR LUGGAGE) is very handy. I I bought
this [in London.]
A: [Oh yes] oh yes, that is (laugh)
B: You can take it in the train, too. It's very convenient
really. You can put all your luggage...on it.

Devices also exist in Finnish for convincing the co-interactants, such as *ihan totta*, *kyllä vaan*, but the only example in the data was *voi että* in (27).

When two interactants who have the same cultural background are involved in interactional discourse they often automatically rely on (5) *shared knowledge*. That is to say that the interactants share the same cultural view of the world. Whenever S-INF feels that a particular point in a conversation is not worth a detailed description he simply appeals to this shared knowledge by using a CMD.

S-INF - Text. - Whenever an interactant starts giving an M-move, he is likely to need time to (1) *organize his thoughts*. The CMDs used at the beginning of an M-move have two functions: they gain time and secure the turn. *Well* in English and *no*, *niin*, *jaa*, *joo* among others in Finnish are used in this 'I'm thinking about it' function. They may also occur in the middle of an S-INF's turn but they always start a new M-move.

(29) A: How long have you been here?
B: *oh well*, this is the third week here.

(30) B: Mitas ne pojat nyt sinne meni sitten? [Olisivat tulleet
käymään.
A: [*No* ne on tapellu
pitkän aikaa, Jannekin että hän menee Marjalaan yöks.

When an S-INF wants (2) *to gain time* in the middle of the construction of his own move he may use, for example, repetition. He also has specific lexical means for this purpose:

(31) A: (I WAS WALKING) up in the hills and a little bit further
off from [the-
B: [Oh yes, you mean the-?...*let's see*...Maruda
dam?

(32) A: mä olin seuramatkalla niin, mutta...sit oli yks' tuttu
tyttö siellä joka oli...*tota* Lontoon yliopistossa

The interactant who is taking up the next EI often needs to (3) *check-up on his understanding of the previous move*. The lack of understanding of previous moves may be due to bad reception, to not understanding the content of the move, or even to not paying enough attention to the preceding move. In (31) B's *you mean* has exactly this check-up function. A Finnish example of a check-up CMD can be found in (17) where F is checking up his understanding by saying *Ai niin eilen?*

A great variety of CMDs may be used for (4) *securing the turn*. The CMDs used for organizing thoughts and gaining time or simply pauses in the middle of the structure of a move may also serve this function. More interesting from the language teaching point of view is the fact that various conjunctions in English and in Finnish can be used as devices for securing a turn. When the speaker utters a conjunction after a completed message he expresses a cohesive device for his next move in addition to giving his listeners a signal not to 'jump in'.

(33) B: We were in Adelaide, erm. last year. Went up to, hm, past
the vineyards *and*...all the wineries and then up towards
Mildura /

(34) A: se on aika jännä tilanne sitten *että*...sitä (EHDOTELMAA)
ei rakenneta joka saa sen palkinnon.

Very often S-INF has difficulties in expressing himself accurately and in finding appropriate expressions. By (5) *approximative devices* he approximates the required expressions closest to the term he remembers at that particular moment, eg. *sort of*, *or something*, *like* in English and *niinku, semmonen* in Finnish. When S-INF uses these devices it indicates that he has run into certain difficulties in expressing his message:

(35) C: he had a pet...erm...cat...it was a real cream puff
marshmellow, *like* a big hu::ge cat it was and...*so sort of*...oh, I don't know...sloppy and fat and lazy.

(36) A: mä ainakin kun mä oon maalta syntyisin ja sillai, mua
kauhistuttaa tämmöset korttelit että ne ois rakentanut
semmonen *niinku* jotkut Saksan muurit *tommosta* korkeeta,
kun se olis jatkunut tohon jo niin kauheen *tommonen
jotenkin semmonen* hirveen mielikuvitukseton, ett' *niinku*
ne lehdissäkin kirjoitti että kirjastorakennus täytyishän
sen olla *sellanen* elävä ja toimiva ja erota *niinku* ympäristöstä.

The conversation often gets out of hand and the interactants participate in side involvements or subtopics. Whenever one of the participants objects to this process and wants to get back to the original topic of discussion, or wants to continue his narrative or story, he has (6) *discourse advancement devices* at hand. *Anyhow, anyway* and *so* in English and *niin* and *sitten* in Finnish are typically used for this purpose:

(37) B: we took her (COCKIE), erm from - Do you know where Palm
Beach is?

A: Somewhere up there (laugh)

B: Up there...yeah, *anyway*, we took her out etc.

(38) C: ja kyllä ne (HAALARIT) sit joulun aatonaattona...jaa,
enhän mä aatonaattona ollut...*niin sit* ne kävi vielä ihan
melkein viimeisellä tunnilla tuolla ni...verstaassa, ne
kävi naulaan kiinni.

Respondent - R's FB. - The FB transmitted to S-INF by the co-interactants maintains a good working relationship during the conversation. Although FB-moves are not always 'a must' in interactional discourse, they are a common trait in casual conversations. Just as S-INF, R may also use CMDs for expressing his personal attitudes towards his own FB-move when giving it verbally. R may (1) *emphasize* his FB:

(39) A: but the distances here are so vast.

B: They are *indeed*, yes.

(40) B: Onks' Santeri käynyt siellä vielä, on vissiin?..On kai?

A: *Kyllä*
se siellä on.

R may especially want to stress (2) *the self-evidence* of his FB-move:

(41) B: we had to climb up this ladder up to the loft where
he lived and [I had Cockie
C: [It was a loft *of course*.

R may also want to 'warn' S-INF; although he seems to be agreeing when giving his FB he feels that S-INF must recognize his FB to be only (3) *tentative*:

(42) A: I've been working (DURING MY HOLIDAYS)..[most of the time.
C: [Oh dear!
C: It's a common complaint, I'm afraid it's happened to me, too.
A: It has happened to [you?
C: [Yeah, it's happened to me, *I think*.

(43) F: Kyllä se (FASAANI) kauhean hyvä paisti olis, kylla mä tykkäisin.
B: On *varmaan* niin.

It is not uncommon for R to be (4) *making a point* when expressing his FB:

(44) A: You've had a haircut, haven't you?
C: Mm, uh, yes, I have *actually*...I thought you said Cockie had had a haircut.

Respondent - INF and INF's move. - R expresses, by CMDs, his relationship towards INF and his moves. Firstly, he may want to (1) *agree* with INF. For this purpose he may use affirmative CMDs (eg. *yes*, *yeah*, *that's right* and in Finnish *kyllä*, *juu*, *joo*, *niin*). If the preceding message has been expressed in negative form, the R's FB must also be in negative form (*no - ei*):

(45) A: I'm not sure if I can change the...my plans because I've bought the ticket already...but it's worthwhile asking at least.
B: *Oh yeah*.

(46) B: Tää on kivalla paikkaa tää (ASUNTO).
A: *Joo*, kyllä mä tykkään.

Naturally R may also (2) *disagree with INF*:

(47) A: Gee, it's cold here.
B: *No* it's warmer than it was last week.

(48) B: se (RAKETTI) kävi siellä tiellä vaan ja palas takaisin
ja se pyöri siinä papan ympärillä (laugh)
G: *Ei* se tökkäsi siihen ensistään sitten kun se tuli, ja
sitten rupes pyörii sen edessä siinä.

CMDs are used whenever INF wants R (3) *to confirm his presuppositions*: INF is either confirmed as right (*yes, yeah - juu, niin*) or it is indicated that he has made a wrong presupposition (*no - ei*). Confirmation may also take place by the use of repetition or elliptical repetition. Confirmation takes place in examples (2), (8), and (9).

INF's moves can arouse various attitudes in the co-interactants. (4) *Interest* can be conveyed in English by elliptical questions, repetitions with rising intonation, or with an inquiring *really?*; in Finnish the interrogative endings *-ko, -kö?* and repetition which is often preceded by an interjection *ai* are used to express interest:

(49) A: I live quite close to H.//about 80 kilometres from there.
B: *Do you?*

(50) F: Noilt' jäi yks (PEURA) [saamati.
G: [*Ai yks' jäi vielä saamatta.*

(5) *Lamentation* is used by R when he is surprised by INF's move. It may also be used when R feels sympathy towards INF. *Oh dear* in (42) is an example of lamentation.

(51) B: se stipendiosuus on lokakuun loppuun asti//mutta tota...
A: *voi hurja!*
B: kai siellä sit tulee se kesälomakin vietettyä.

By using CMDs that express (6) *fascination* R may indicate that he is sincerely interested in what has just been said. These expressions have, however, often lost much of their actual meaning and, as below, they are only used to help the interaction flow onwards.

(52) B: How far have you been?
A: Oh, I've been first to Adelaide and then to Alice Springs.
B: *Oh lovely.*
A: It was hot there.

Sometimes it is necessary that R expresses whether he (7) *accepts INF's statements and presuppositions or not:*

(53) A: I'm gonna kick my shoes off, because they are dirty//
C: *Okey dokey*
A: I just put them here.

Respondent - Text. - During the flow of interactional discourse the co-interactants must signal to INF that his message has been received and, possibly, also understood. The CMDs used for this purpose are functionally textual, as they serve to keep the text going. When a CMD is merely meant to be as 'I'm listening-keep going' signal, it often appears in a place where it is obvious that INF has not completed his entire message but simply pauses eg. to take a breath. Among others *yes*, *yeah* in English and *joo*, *jaa*, *niin* in Finnish function as (1) *attention signals:*

(54) B: The big holidays are around Christmas time?
A: Yeah, that's the, from, erm, December, January and February//and then in May we have three weeks holiday
B: *yeah*
A: and then we have a semester break...well, after the exams in July//a couple of weeks and then again these
B: *yeah*
A: three weeks in August//and September...so...it's not bad.
B: *yeah*

(55) A: ja Janne kun kuuli sen niin se huusi heti ja minä jään kanssa//kun se tappeli jo silloin kun mummulle tultiin
C: *joo*
A: ett' hän menee Marjalaan yöks' ett' hän ei lähde minkään mummulle//minä sanoin että en mä nyt sinne sua voi viedä
C: *jaa*

At the same time as the co-interactant is signalling to INF that he is actually paying attention to INF's move he may also express his (2) *understanding of the previous move.* The CMDs from the previous category may have this function, but distinct lexical items are also used for this purpose, eg. *right, I know, I see - aivan, juu juu, niin niin:*

(56) B: Are you going or coming?
A: Oh, I'm going back home.

B: *Oh I see.*
A: Yes...I've been travelling three weeks, so it's good to go home now.
B: *Oh I see.*

(57) C: Kävi ne siellä juhlien jälkeen.
A: Niin.. [juhlien jälkeen nääs
F: [*ai juu juu*

Before adapting an INF-role (after the turn allocation signals have been given) R is usually expected to give the previous INF FB concerning the uttered moves. When R has not formulated his opinions about the move, or defined his attitude towards it and does not want to comment on it, he employs (3) *acknowledgement CMDs*. By doing so he secures the next INF-role for himself. If he does not use this CMD, the INF may think that R has not grasped what he meant, and take up the turn again in order to give further explanations. There is also a danger that another interactant present may take up the turn.

(58) A: I went to the University of Melbourne yesterday and I liked the campus area tremendously.
B: *Yeah*...this little girl who came to us last night to stay brought me up to the station, she's at the university.

(59) A: minusta se oli kauheen kiva se Lontoo.
B: *Jaa*, mä en oo koskaan käynyt edes Lontoossa.
A: *Jaa* mä aattelin että sinä olet Englannin kolunnu ihan;

R may (4) *gain time* by CMDs or by repetition:

(60) A: There's a time difference between Adelaide [and-
B: [Yes, about half an hour.
A: Half an hour? For- forwards or-//behind?
B: behind
B: *Oh, wait a minute*...yes, behind.

(61) A: Sinne Englantiinko sä lähdet nyt sitten?
B: No, Australiaan.
A: *Ai Australiaan* voi kauheeta

For (5) *organizing his FB-move* R often uses the same CMDs as INF:

(62) A: you learn to know the people and you learn to know the country, too.

B: No, *well*, that's right, well, as a matter of fact, I have travelled overseas etc.

(63) B: Onhan se (KOIRA VIHAINEN) jos sitä pelkää, käy kiinni ja puree. Jariakin puri.

C: No on, se on, no ei se pure

Very often INF may not find an appropriate way of expressing his move. When this happens his co-interactants may try to help him in (6) *text-construction*. R suggests a way of continuing or completing the move. It is totally up to INF whether he accepts the constructed piece or not:

(64) A: (THE SCENERY) it's quite different from-

B: *Sydney?*

A: Sydney area...with fir trees

(65) B: Kyllä mä nyt nään jos oikein iso neula on mut' kun meillä on niin isosilmäisiä kuin parsinneulat

C: *kuin parsinneulat*

When examining the turns in casual conversations it can be found that the interactants may also (7) *give FB an FB*. That is to say that after R's FBT we get another FBT produced by the previous INF - he does not want to continue in an INF-role. The role change is bound to happen: either R or one of the co-interactants takes up the INF-role.

(66) B: We could, we could have to (CHANGE COMPARTMENTS) later on.

A: Yes.

B: *Yeah.*

A: So far (we're coming with the Melbourne lights)

(67) D: Mirjahan kuulu sanovan että...pian täältä täytyis pois mennä.

E: Ai pian?

D: Niin.

E: *Ai jaa.*

C: Mihis' sull' on kiire?

FREQUENCIES OF CMDs IN THE ENGLISH AND FINNISH DATA

The frequencies of the CMDs were counted to discover whether essential differences exist in the total use of a particular group of CMDs in English and Finnish. The CMDs were classified according to the categories above. Some of the CMDs occurred only rarely and generalizations must therefore be made with caution. The distribution of the CMDs was as follows:

INF's devices:	English:	Finnish:
-INF - message	50 - 37%	209 - 53%
-INF - R	44 - 33%	48 - 12%
-INF - text	41 - 30%	136 - 35%
	135 - 100%	393 - 100%
R's devices:		
-R - R's FB	8 - 5%	5 - 2%
-R - INF and his M-move	93 - 54%	109 - 45%
-R - text	71 - 41%	126 - 53%
	172 - 100%	241 - 100%

For the purpose of investigating differences between the English and the Finnish data it is more useful to examine the distribution of the CMDs in the various categories.

The figures in Tables 1 and 2 show that the overall number of the CMDs for INF's expression of attitude towards his own M-move was slightly higher in the Finnish data (53%) than in the English one (37%). The CMDs expressing tentative opinions seemed to be most favoured by the English speakers (44%) and within this group *I think* has the highest frequency - 68%. Finnish speakers seemed to be most worried about making their point clear (51%); it seemed to be of secondary importance to the English speakers (24%). The Finns paid attention to emphasizing their moves (58%). Emphasis was the third biggest concern of the English speakers (20%), while the Finns paid attention to expressing tentative opinions. Expressions of uncertainty and attitude seem to be less important in interactional discourse in both data. A possible generalization from the figures would be that the Finns were more concerned about emphasizing and making their point clear when constructing their move, while the English speakers paid more attention to expressing their ideas tentatively - it could perhaps be said that they avoided presenting 'attacking' opinions. It should be noted, however, that *kyllä* and *-han* are easily attachable items in Finnish and, as Hakulinen (1976) rightly suggests, in fact carry more functions than the present analysis suggests.

	emphasis	tentative opinion	uncertainty	point-making	attitude
really	5 - 50%				
especially	1 - 10%				
of course	4 - 40%				
I think		15 - 68%			
I guess		3 - 14%			
I suppose		1 - 4,5%			
I wonder		1 - 4,5%			
probably		2 - 9%			
I don't know			4 - 100%		
still				4 - 33%	
so				3 - 25%	
actually				2 - 17%	
besides				1 - 8,3%	
as a matter of fact				1 - 8,3%	
though				1 - 8,3%	
it's funny					2 - 100%
Total	10 - 20%	22 - 44%	4 - 8%	12 - 24%	2 - 4%
Total from INF's devices: 50 - 37%					

Table 1. English: INF - Message

	emphasis	tentative opinion	uncertainty	point-making	attitude
kyllä	21 - 36%			25-23%	
-han, -hän	29 - 50%	5 - 23%		18-17%	
tietysti	4 - 7%				
ainakin	4 - 7%				
minusta		8 - 36%			
kai		8 - 36%			
vissiin		1 - 5%			
en mä tiedä			3 - 34%		
muistaakseni			2 - 22%		
kuulemma			2 - 22%		
tiedä sitten			1 - 11%		
ei se taida			1 - 11%		
sitten				29-27%	
niin				16-15%	
nyt				19-18%	
kiva se on					10 - 76%
se oli hyvä					1 - 8%
oli jännää					1 - 8%
on kummaa					1 - 8%
Total	58 - 28%	22 - 11%	9 - 4%	107-51%	13 - 6%
Total from INF's devices: 209 - 53%					

Table 2. Finnish: INF - Message

	attention fixer	appeal for attention & understanding	clarification - introduction	convincing	shared knowledge	confirmation
calling a person's name	2-50%					
listen	1-25%					
wait	1-25%					
you know		8 - 89%	10 - 83%			
you see		1 - 11%				
I mean			2 - 17%			
really				3-75%		
yeah				1-25%		
and that					1-50%	
and everything					1-50%	
tag question						9-69%
or what?						1-8%
perhaps?						2-15%
-or?						1-8%
Total	4-9%	9 - 20%	12 - 27%	4-9%	2-5%	13-30%
Total from INF's devices: 44 - 33%						

Table 3. English: INF - R

	attention fixer	appeal for attention & understanding	clarification - introduction	convincing	shared knowledge	confirmation
kuule	1-100%					
naas		8 - 100%	5 - 23%			
niinku			8 - 36%			
niin			3 - 14%			
taikka			3 - 14%			
sillapa			2 - 9%			
nimittain			1 - 4%			
voi etta				2-100%		
ja sillai					3-34%	
ja muuten					1-11%	
ja kaikki					2-22%	
ja niin					2-22%	
ja tuollai					1-11%	
-vai?						3-50%
vai kuinka?						1-16,6%
on kai?						1-16,6%
on vissiin						1-16,6%
Total	1-2%	8 - 17%	22 - 46%	2-4%	9-19%	6-12%
Total from INF's devices: 48 - 12%						

Table 4. Finnish: INF - R

Remarkable differences can be seen in Tables 3 and 4. The English data shows more concern about wanting the co-interactant's confirmation of the moves presented (30% vs. Finnish 12%). Secondly, the INF in the English data wanted to make sure his partners understood his moves and therefore he offered plenty of clarification-introductions (27%), *you know* being the most popular phrase (83%). The major concern of the INF in the Finnish data was offering clarifications (46%). Relying on shared knowledge shows the second most important use of CMDs for the Finns (19%). These devices had only a minor function in the English data (5%). The third concern for both the English (20%) and Finnish speakers (17%) was getting confirmation of the co-interactant's attention and FB on his understanding of INF's move. The overall figures for the use of these CMDs show that the English speakers were more concerned about the co-interactant's reception and understanding of the INF's moves (33%) than the Finnish speakers (12%). This may be due to the fact that one of the interactants in the analyzed English conversations was a non-native speaker: native speakers might have been concerned about the foreigner understanding the messages correctly.

	organize text	gain time	check-up	approximative	advance text
well	16-100%				
repetition		6-86%			
let's see		1-14%			
you mean?			1-100%		
or something				1-14%	
sort of				6-86%	
so					8-80%
anyhow					1-10%
anyway					1-10%
Total	16-39%	7-17%	1 - 2%	7-17%	10-25%
Total from INF's devices: 41 - 30%					

Table 5. English: INF - Text

As the percentages in Tables 5 and 6 show, the use of CMDs for the construction of text seem to be very similar for both data (English 30% - Finnish 35%). However, differences within various categories of CMDs appear: the English speakers seemed to have problems with the construction of moves (39%), and they therefore often employed the CMD *well* at the beginning of their moves. The Finns seemed to face difficulties in finding appropriate expressions and used approximatives frequently (38% vs. English 17%). Only then did the Finns have difficulties in the actual organization of text (22%). Advancing the text appeared to be an important use of CMDs when the INF was constructing both English (25%) and Finnish (19%) texts. Gaining time was used as much by the English (17%) as by the Finnish (17%) speakers. Check-up devices were slightly more frequent in the Finnish (4%) than in the English data (2%) - this may be due to the fact that there were more participants in the Finnish conversations than in the English ones and, thus, the possibilities for bad reception were far greater.

	organize text	gain time	check-up	approximative	advance text
no	22-73%				
niin	3-10%			1 - 2%	12-46%
jaa	2-7%				
kuinkas se sano	1-3,3%				
mikskä niitä sanotaan	1-3,3%				
mitä se sano	1-3,3%				
tota/tuota		21-92%			
repetition		1-4%			
ai		1-4%			
ai pian?			1-20%		
ai ketkä?			1-20%		
ai eilen?			1-20%		
ai niin(kö)?			2-40%		
niinku				22 - 41%	
semmonen				18 - 34%	
sillai				8 - 15%	
tommonen				3 - 6%	
sellainen				1 - 2%	
sitten					14-54%
Total	30-22%	23-17%	5-4%	52 - 38%	26-19%
Total from INF's devices: 136 - 35%					

Table 6. Finnish: INF - Text

As can be seen in Tables 7 and 8, the CMDs used by R for expressing his viewpoint towards his own FB occurred so infrequently that the frequencies have hardly any relevance.

	emphasis	tentative opinion	point-making
really	3 - 60%		
of course	1 - 20%		
indeed	1 - 20%		
I think		1 - 100%	
actually			2 - 100%
Total	5 - 62,5%	1 - 12,5%	2 - 25%
Total from R's devices: 8 - 5%			

Table 7. English: R - R's FB

	emphasis	tentative opinion	point-making
kyllä	2 - 100%		
sitä mä meinaan		1 - 50%	
ei suinkaan		1 - 50%	
nyt			1 - 100%
Total	2 - 40%	2 - 40%	1 - 20%
Total from R's devices: 5 - 2%			

Table 8. Finnish: R - R's FB

It is apparent from Tables 9 and 10 that there was a slight difference in the overall frequencies of the CMDs in English and in Finnish used by R in giving his FB to INF and his M-move. The English were a little more concerned about giving FB to INF (54%) than the Finns (45%); in both the English and Finnish data R readily showed his agreement with INF (Finnish 58% - English 37%). Both the English (31%) and the Finnish (25%) R confirmed INF's previous move frequently. The English R showed interest (whether actual or phatic) twice as often (9%) as the Finnish R (4%). It is interesting to notice that the expressions of fascination were more favoured in the English data (12%-1%) while the expressions of lamentation were more frequent in the Finnish data (5%-2%).

Tables 11 and 12 show no great difference in R's use of textual CMDs in English (41%) and in Finnish (53%). Acknowledgements, ie. signals that the move has been received, have equal frequencies in the English and the Finnish data (39%). The Finns seemed to signal their attention to the INF's move slightly more often (29%) than the English (23%). As far as percentages are concerned, the signals which expressed that the co-inter-

	agreement	disagreement	confirmation	interest	lamentation	fascination	acceptance
yes	9-26%		8-28%				1-25%
elliptical repet.	10-29%		3-11%	4-50%			
repetition	2-6%		5-17%	2-25%			
that's right	5-15%		2-7%				
yeah	5-15%		9-31%				
no	3-9%	5-100%	1-3%				
tag-question			1-3%				
really?				2-25%			
oh dear					2-100%		
(how) nice						3-27%	
(how) lovely						1-9%	
that's good						5-55%	
I like that idea						1-9%	
okey dokey							1-25%
by all means							1-25%
sure							1-25%
Total	34-37%	5-5%	29-31%	8-9%	2-2%	11-12%	4-4%
Total from R's devices: 93 - 54%							

Table 9. English: R - INF and his M-move

	agreement	disagreement	confirmation	interest	lamentation	fascination	acceptance
niin	22-35%		6-21,5%				
elliptical repet.	12-19%		6-21,5%				
repetition	9-14%		6-21,5%	1-25%		1-100%	
joo(-o)	10-16%		6-21,5%				
ei	5-8%	8-100%	1-3,5%				
juu	2-3%		2-7%				
niin on niin	3-5%						
kyllä			1-3,5%				
jaa				2-50%			
eikö?				1-25%			
voi kauheeta					2-40%		
voi hurja					1-20%		
voi hyvä ihme					1-20%		
Herran jestas					1-20%		
Total	63-58%	8-7%	28-25%	4-4%	5-5%	1-1%	-
Total from R's devices: 109 - 45%							

Table 10. Finnish: R - INF and his M-move

actant had understood the move and that the INF could now continue with his turn are equally important in the English and Finnish data (27%). The devices for gaining time, organizing thoughts and constructing text did not play an important role from R's point of view. His FB-moves were fairly short, almost automatic, - R does not need extra time for constructing his FB-moves.

	attention signals	I understand, you can go on	acknowledgement	gain time	organize thoughts	text-construction
yeah	13-81%	10-53,5%	16-57%			
yes	1-6,5%	1-5%	9-32%			
I see	2-12,5%	2-10,5%	3-11%			
repetition		2-10,5%		2-75%		3-100%
elliptical repet.		1-5%				
I know		1-5%				
right		2-10,5%				
wait a minute				1-25%		
well					2-100%	
Total	16-23%	19-27%	28-39%	3-4%	2-3%	3-4%
Total from R's devices: 71 - 41%						

Table 11. English: R - Text

	attention signals	I understand, you can go on	acknowledgement	gain time	organize thoughts	text-construction
niin	27-73%	8-23%	28-56%			
joo	7-19%	10-29%	6-12%			
(ai) jaa	3-8%	3-9%	10-20%			
(ai) juu juu		6-18%				
joo joo		3-9%	2-4%			
jaa jaa		1-3%				
joo-o			2-4%			
nii-i			1-2%			
niin niin		1-3%	1-2%			
jaa-a		2-6%				
no					2-100%	
repetition				1-100%		3-100%
Total	37-29%	34-27%	50-39%	1-1%	2-2%	3-2%
Total from R's devices: 127 - 53%						

Table 12. Finnish: R - Text

CONCLUSION

The focus of this paper was a discussion of the roles held by interactants during casual conversations and how these roles change in relation to holding the floor, ie. speaking. The stand taken here is that the participatory roles also include the roles of an informer and respondent. The role change between the INF and R does not always coincide with the textual role change, ie. the speaker - listener change. Rather, it takes place in the middle of the speaking turn - an interactant first gives feedback to the previous S-INF and then switches to an INF-role. This FB is important not only socially but also textually: it keeps the text going, although the flow of informative content might momentarily be at a standstill. So far, the investigation of the interactants' task of creating 'textuality' by giving FB has been mostly neglected in discourse analysis.

A further proposal has been a categorisation of the English and Finnish stereotyped expressions, ie. conversation management devices. The CMDs were classified according to how the INF and R in both languages used them to perform certain functions in interactional discourse. Various aspects of the proposed categorisation may occasion severe criticism. The analysis was, however, never meant to be a full description of the CMDs. It is hoped that the reader's attention has been drawn to the importance of the CMDs - they are not simply 'verbal fillers' (as, for example, Brown 1977 calls them). Rather, they carry out important interactional and discursive functions in the management of casual conversations. This fact should not be overlooked by those interested in foreign language teaching. Making language learners aware of the existence and the uses of the CMDs enables their learning the principles of successful handling and manoeuvring of conversations.

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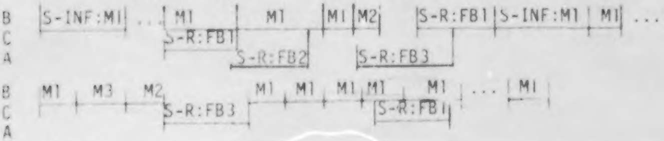
APPENDIX

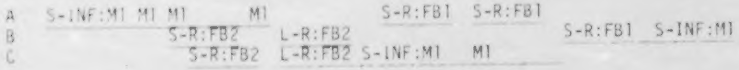
	Text 1	Moves	Turns
B	(S-INF:M1) You should have seen Cockie in a boat...	M1,M1	RT
	(M1) we were taking Cockie in a boat at Lane Cove (M1)	M1,M1	(by B)
C	(S-R:FB1)Oh Dear!	M2	
B	and she really liked it because you know when we	FB1	FBT(by C)
A	(S-R:FB2)Yeah	FB2	FBT(by A)
B	were just rowing.(M1)we took her, erm from-[1](M2)		
	Do you know where Palm Beach is?		
A	(S-R:FB3) Somewhere up there (laugh)	FB3	FBT(by A)
B	(S-R:FB1)Up there...yeah(S-INF:	FB1,M1,	ET
	M1) anyway, we took her out last Saturday morning.	M1,M1,	(by B)
	(M1) it seemed like it was going to be a nice day...	M3,M2	
	(M1) Well, we left here (M3) about what?...(M2) seven	M1,M1,M1,	
	thirty?[2]//(M1) left here about 7.30 (M1) and we got	M1,M1,M1	
C	(S-R:FB3) yeah	FB3	FBT(by C)
B	in the boat (M1) and it was...pretty windy...I mean		
	it was...you know, (M1) we we didn't mind[3] we didn't		
C	(S-R:FB1) it wasn't windy that day	FB1	FBT(by C)
B	mind, but she let me...(M1) I had to wrap her around		
	in a towel and cuddle her when we were in a boat.		

Text 1: graphically presented (the length of a move has an abstract representation only)



	Text 2	Moves	Turns
A	(S-INF:M1) Me kun tultiin Villeltä niin auto tuli	M1,M1,	ET(by A)
	siinä justiin sivutiellä jo, meidän tiellä vastaan,	M1,M1	
	(M1)ne oli käynny meillä// M1)ne ei oo käynny her-		
B	(S-R:FB2) jaa-a	FB2	FBT(by B)
C	(S-R:FB2) jaa-a	FB2	FBT(by C)
A	ran aikaan niin Heimo huusi pistäkää auto ympäri,		
	(M1) eihän me voitu sanoa että menkää kotia vaan		
	(laughter)		
B,C	(L-R:FB2) laughter	FB2	FBT(by B,C)
C	(S-INF:M1) niin röyhkee//kun minä sanoin että (laugh)	M1,M1	ET(by C)
A	(S-R:FB1) niin	FB1	FBT(by A)
C	tota älkää nyt tulko vasta//(M1) ei se varoitus ollut.		
A	(S-R:FB1) ei (eihän sitä)	FB1	FBT(by A)
B	(S-R:FB1) ei[4](S-INF:M1) kun Ilmari ja Jattakin meni	FB1,	ET(by B)
	pois ettei nekään ollut täällä	M1	

Text 2: graphically presented



Comments:

1: S-INF does not finish his M1 as something else comes to mind.
2: S-INF changes the structure of the move(M1-M2-M3); FB given only to M2.
3: C disagrees with B (by FB1) and fights for the turn by repetition.
4: B first shows disagreement of C's move and then gives his point of view.

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AN APPROACH TO A LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF DRAMA CONVERSATION

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to argue the case for the relevance of discourse analysis to the study of drama.

The basic principles of the present analysis are:

(1) Modern linguistics provides appropriate tools for the analysis of a dramatic text.

(2) All of the dramatic text in question must be described by means of the analytical system. This paper is not concerned with the style as a differentiating factor; an attempt is made to analyse the language of a work of art as a whole.

(3) Description and interpretation are two complementary parts of the analysis.

The paper is organised as follows:

(1) Description of the method for analysing discourse developed by John McH. Sinclair and R. M. Coulthard (1975).

(2) Changes which are to be made so that the Sinclair - Coulthard system can be applied to a dramatic text.

(3) Description of the apparatus employed by this paper. This section includes a description of the threefold model, a brief survey of the levels and ranks of the analysis, and the definitions of the smallest discourse units, called Acts.

(4) Discussion of the discourse between the author and his audience: what do the discourse units analysed help us to understand about the play. The following topics will be discussed: dominance among the characters, orientation, turn-taking, and humour.

The discussion is based on *The Birthday Party* by Harold Pinter.

THE SINCLAIR - COULTHARD METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The method discussed in this paper is based on the ideas presented in Sinclair et al (1972) and in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). The work of Sinclair and Coulthard is concerned with presenting a theoretical framework for analysing teacher-pupil interaction and with speculations about its applicability to conversation. It is a rigorous socio*linguistic* descriptive apparatus emphasising the importance of the four criteria necessary for a satisfactory structural description. The four minimum criteria were first outlined in Sinclair (1973):

(1) The descriptive apparatus should be finite, or else one is not saying anything at all, and may be merely creating the illusion of classification.

(2) The symbols or terms in the descriptive apparatus should be precisely relatable to their exponents in the data, or else it is not clear what one is saying.

(3) The whole of the data should be describable; the descriptive system should be comprehensive.

(4) There must be at least one impossible combination of symbols.

The work of Sinclair and Coulthard is to be distinguished from the work of *socio*linguists, such as Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, which is full of insight but less rigorous.

The Sinclair - Coulthard method of analysis is a micro-functionalist approach to the analysis of spoken language, in which all utterances are seen as functioning only in terms of the ongoing discourse. It is opposed to other functionalist schema, such as those proposed by Jakobson, Hymes, Halliday and others, in which all utterances are considered as performing several different functions simultaneously. Through the concept of *situation* (ie. the information about the non-linguistic environment) and *tactics* (ie. the syntagmatic patterns of discourse) it is the place in the ongoing discourse that decides how items classified by grammar and function are ultimately defined.

Situation and tactics are introduced to handle the lack of fit between grammar and discourse. For example, the unmarked form of a directive may be imperative, *Shut the door*, but there are many marked versions, in which interrogative, declarative, and moodless structures are used:

Can you shut the door
Would you mind shutting the door
I wonder if you could shut the door
The door is still open
The door.

Of the nine possible combinations exemplified by the situational and grammatical categories in Table 1 - declarative statement, declarative question, declarative command etc - there is only one that Sinclair and Coulthard cannot instance: imperative statement.

discourse categories	situational categories	grammatical categories
informative	statement	declarative
elicitative	question	interrogative
directive	command	imperative

Table 1. Relations between grammar, situation and discourse. (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 29)

To describe the interaction inside the classroom Sinclair and Coulthard devised a rank scale model based on Halliday's grammatical system as outlined in his "Categories of the Theory of Grammar" (1961). The basic assumption of a rank scale is that a unit at a given rank is made up of one or more units of the rank below and combines with other units at the same rank to make one unit at the rank above. Table 2 shows the different ranks and their relations to other levels, those of grammar and non-linguistic organisation.

Non-linguistic organisation	DISCOURSE	grammar
course		
period	LESSON	
topic	TRANSACTION	
	EXCHANGE	
	MOVE	sentence
	ACT	clause
		group
		word
		morpheme

Table 2. Discourse levels and ranks. (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 24)

The discourse ranks are defined in the following way:
A *lesson* is the largest discourse unit. It consists of a number of transactions and is often co-extensive with the pedagogical unit period.

A *transaction* consists of a series of exchanges, typically bounded by an opening and a closing exchange. Transactions usually have one purpose only and are built around one of the major exchange types: inform, direct, elicit.

An *exchange* typically consists of an initiation, a response, and possibly a feedback. Exchanges involve two or more utterances that are dependent on one another but are spoken by different participants in the conversation.

A *move* is the smallest free discourse unit that has an internal structure consisting of lower ranking units, ie. acts. A move constitutes a coherent contribution to the interaction that essentially serves one purpose, eg. framing, focusing, responding, etc.

An *act* is the smallest discourse unit and corresponds roughly to the grammatical unit of clause. It is, however, a functional unit. Some major acts are elicitation, directive, and informative, each of which can be realised by different grammatical sentence types. This category of act is different from, for instance, Austin's illocutionary acts and Searle's speech acts; acts are defined principally by the way they serve to initiate succeeding discourse activity or respond to earlier discourse activity.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 135) propose a model for discourse, described in Figure 1.

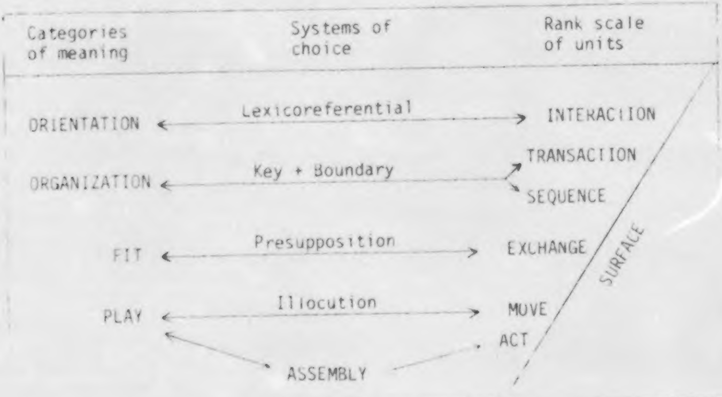
Categories of meaning
Systems of choice
Rank scale of units
ORIENTATION
Lexicoreferential
INTERACTION
TRANSACTION
ORGANIZATION
Key + Boundary
SEQUENCE
FIT
Presupposition
EXCHANGE
SURFACE
PLAY
Illocution
MOVE
ACT
ASSEMBLY

Figure 1. The Sinclair - Coulthard model for discourse.

According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 130-135), there is a rough horizontal correspondence between the two scales in the diagram, particularly in the lower reaches. Higher up there is a possibility that more units for the rank scale will be postulated, or that some discourse types will not require all those that are available in the language as a whole. The left-hand categories are exhaustive and apply to every instance of interactive language.

Although the Sinclair - Coulthard system of analysis provides a firm basis for analysing interaction other than classroom talk, some changes and adaptations are necessary for their system to be applied to the study of drama.

Since drama presents more varied interaction than does the classroom, the analytical apparatus has consequently to be extended to cope. Most importantly, dramatic dialogue presents *conflict*, and this feature alone makes the data radically different from almost all the other data which have been collected and analysed by means of this method hitherto. The characters of a drama argue, insult each other, refuse to do what they are told, do not bother to be polite, and so on. In short, they exhibit all kinds of conversational behaviour that will not fit into the model which the Sinclair and Coulthard system represents. Thus the changes to be made concentrate on two areas: (1) the omission of the discourse units which are classroom-specific and (2) the definition of new discourse units to meet the needs of the interaction which is essentially different from the classroom situation.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SYSTEM OF ANALYSIS

Prospective vs retrospective structuring. - An idea basic to the method of analysis is that the structuring within the discourse can be divided into prospective and retrospective. Prospective structures include acts, moves and exchanges, ie. units whose structures can be defined. Exchange is the most important unit; it has been called the basic building-block of all interaction (Brazil and Coulthard, forthcoming).

Since conversation proceeds in a linear way, it is important for the analytical method to be able to define what will come after each analytical unit. This can be achieved within prospective structuring. A single contribution of a participant in the conversation, a move, is normally followed by a move from another participant. The head act of the move determines the function of the move (eliciting, challenging), and the head act is usually the last act of the move. The co-conversationalist responds to the move, and it is possible to predict a certain number of alternatives among which he has to make his choice. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 133) describe as *fit* the way in which successive items in the discourse are related (see the model for discourse on p   ).

> Each successive utterance provides a frame of reference for whatever follows. An utterance which ends in an open elicitation, for example, can be answered (i) by a minimal, totally fitting response, or (ii) by something which satisfies the notional presuppositions of the elicitation but is structurally independent, or (iii) by something which implies an adequate answer but principally sets up further presuppositions, or (iv) by something which challenges the terms of the question - was it properly asked, was there a feasible answer, was it directed at the right addressee, etc.
>
> A What is the capital of England?
> B (i) London.
> (ii) If you look at this map, you'll see it's in big type.
> (iii) I suppose you're thinking of London, my home town.
> (iv) Why do you ask?
> That's an irrelevant question.
> I'm afraid I don't know a thing about capitals and all that.
> Good gracious, don't you know?

Naturally there are possibilities other than those listed above. If it is supposed that the conversation is obeying the rules of co-operation (Grice 1975: 45-46), it is possible to assign to an initiating move the typical responding move. The pairs are classified according to the head acts:

Pre-topic acts

summons - accept
marker - acknowledge
metastatement - accept

Topic-carrying acts

informative - acknowledge
elicitation - reply/response
directive - react
accuse - excuse
challenge - response
ritual - ritual
announce - 0
suggest - response

Prospective structuring as the main organising principle stops at this point: it specifies the different choices that are open to the responder, but it does not say which were the choices that were taken.

Retrospective structuring consists of three separate steps. First, by looking, as it were, back to the text it will be seen which of the alternatives that were specified by the rules of prospective structuring have been realised. The second step then is to find evidence of patterns of language above the rank of exchange. Up to the rank of exchange the basic organising principles are the rules of exchange structure, but from there upwards much of the content of the unit is chosen according to the structures of non-linguistic systems. The patterns that can be found immediately above the exchange, sequences and monologues are distinguished both by linguistic and content considerations. Sinclair (1975: 13) desribes sequences:

> Immediately above the exchange, the only patterns of language that we can detect are stylistic, and therefore fundamentally retrospective, because they are intermittent and their onset and termination are unpredictable. A run of several similar questions with quick-fire answers would be an example: for a short period a certain set of linguistic features is used to create some simple local meaning, eg. "this is a list", and a modest prospective restriction is set up, eg. "if you don't follow the model, you will break this sequence of exchanges".

But above the rank of sequence there seems to be only one regular manifestation of linguistic structure: the occurrence of frames and/or focuses to mark boundaries in the discourse. The third step in retrospective study, then, is to find the units that are bounded by frames and/or focuses; ie. transactions and interactions. They are units which are mainly distinguished by content criteria since they concentrate on one topic. Sinclair (1975: 13) gives an example of an interview, which is an interaction, and the sequences and transactions to be found within it:

> The relation between job selection and English discourse may be as follows: each stage, eg. welcome, explanation of procedure, questioning by one interviewer, will be a sequence of exchanges showing stylistic coherence or regularity. The larger stages of Beginning, Middle and End in this case, will be indicated only by boundary markers such as *frame* and sometimes *focus*.

Figure 2 is a summary of the discourse units and of their relationships with prospective and retrospective structuring on one hand, and with linguistic or content distinguishing criteria on the other. The figure is based on Sinclair (1975) and he describes it (Sinclair 1975: 14) as follows:

> The diagonal line (...) is a gross idealisation of a very complex set of inter-relationships, but I think it indicates a valuable concept. Language is the primary organising principle for verbal communicating up to a certain level, just above what we are calling an exchange. Then there is the transitional band where stylistic patterns thrive, and point both ways; above that the organisation becomes essentially unlinguistic, and such regularities of language that occur are confined to boundary markings.

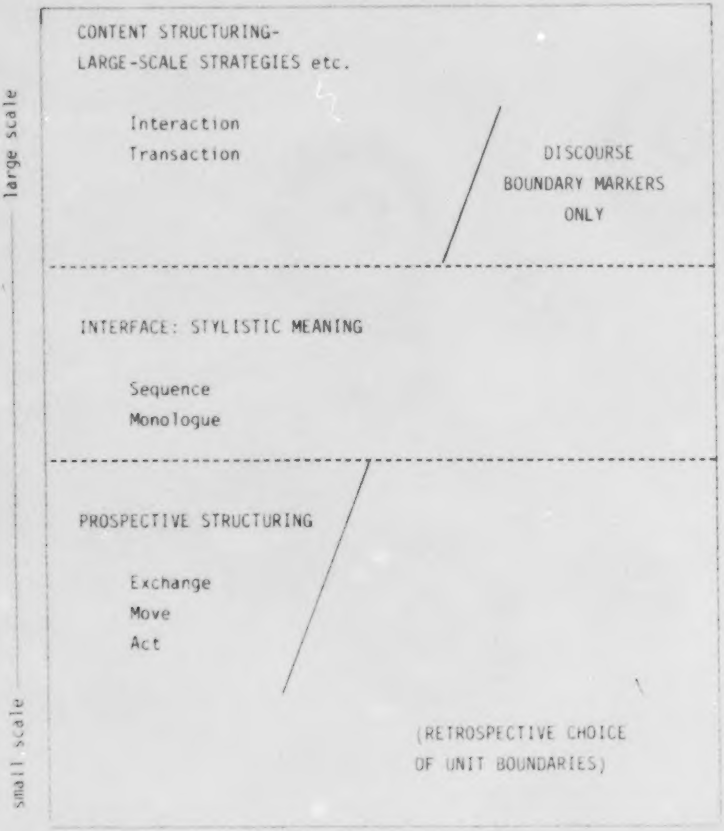
CONTENT STRUCTURING-
LARGE-SCALE STRATEGIES etc.
Interaction
Transaction
DISCOURSE
BOUNDARY MARKERS
ONLY
INTERFACE: STYLISTIC MEANING
Sequence
Monologue
PROSPECTIVE STRUCTURING
Exchange
Move
Act
(RETROSPECTIVE CHOICE
OF UNIT BOUNDARIES)
large scale
small scale

Figure 2. The location of discourse units within prospective and retrospective structuring.

An example of an analysed text and coding conventions. - A brief illustration of an analysed text will be found in Example 1. The three wide columns indicate the three most frequent moves, opening, responding, and follow-up. The narrow columns after each wide column specify the acts of which the move in question consists. The two remaining moves, frame and focus, are indicated in the wide columns when they occur. A single horizontal line indicates when the exchange is over, a double horizontal line marks the end of a transaction, and a dotted line indicates the beginning of a bound exchange. The example should be read from the column on the left to the column on the right, one exchange at a time.

Exchange type	Opening	Act	Responding	Act	Follow-up	Act
(The next morning. Petey enters, left, with a newspaper and sits at the table. He begins to read. Meg's voice comes through the kitchen hatch.)						
Elicit (Pause)	Meg: Is that you, Stan?	el				
Bound initiation	Meg: Stanny?	el	Petey: Yes?	rep		
Re-initiation	Meg: Is that you?	el	Petey: It's me.	rep	Meg: Oh, it's you.	com
Suggest	Meg: (appearing at the hatch) I've run out of cornflakes.	sugg				
Elicit	Petey: Well, what else have you got?	el	Meg: Nothing.	rep		
Direct	Meg: Just a minute.	d				

Example 1. Coding conventions: acts, moves, exchanges (free and bound), and transactions. (Pinter, 1960:67)

Prospective Structures. - Several changes are made in the rank of *Exchange.* Instead of the six Free Exchanges and five Bound Exchanges of the Sinclair-Coulthard category of Teaching Exchange, a division into thirteen subcategories of Conversational Exchange is proposed. In addition to the Conversational Exchanges, the Sinclair-Coulthard type of Boundary Exchanges is distinguished.

Boundary Exchanges are optional exchanges at the opening of transactions. Their function is to signal the beginning and end of the transaction. Boundary Exchanges consist of a Frame and/or a Focus.

Conversational Exchanges are the individual steps by which the conversation progresses. There are thirteen subcategories with specific functions and structures. Of the thirteen subcategories eight are Free and five are Bound. The main functions of the Free Exchanges are eliciting, directing, informing, suggesting, challenging, announcing, accusing, and ritual. They are distinguished by the type of act that realises the head of the initiating move: elicit (el), direct (d), inform (i), suggest (sugg), challenge (cha), announce (ann), accuse (accu), and ritual (rit) respectively.

An exchange is said to be bound if it has no initiating move, or if its initiating move has no head, or if it re-states a topic that has been either diverted or delayed or has not been accepted as a topic. Five types of bound exchange are distinguished: bound initiation, re-initiation, reinforcement, bound elicitation, and repeat.

At the rank of Move, the original Answering Move is abandoned and replaced by Responding Move, since the responses given to the initiations are not always appropriate answers. Five types of Move are recognised: Framing, Focusing, Opening, Responding, and Follow-up Moves. Framing and Focusing Moves are markers of transaction boundaries. They are made up of acts that are attention-getting, pre-topic items. Opening moves set up expectations which responding moves fulfil; they set up constraints and therefore delimit the choices of appropriate and acceptable responding moves. A responding move can also itself set up expectations, and can be followed by a follow-up move or by a new opening move. Follow-up moves are usually restricted to commenting on the responding move or providing extra clarification. The follow-up move may be followed by another follow-up move, but it means that the options open to the speaker in choosing an acceptable follow-up move are being continually narrowed.

Some of the conflict material can be accounted for at *Act* rank (as well as at Exchange rank, since Exchanges are named after the head Act in their initiating move). Thus, while trying to restrict the number of Acts as closely as possible to the original number of Acts employed by

Sinclair and Coulthard, new Acts are defined.

Definitions of the acts. - There are 22 acts. The definitions include the realisation and the function of the act as well as its place within the move.

Marker (*m*): Realised by a closed class of items, *well*, *OK*, *now*, *good*, *all right*, and expressive particles like *kaw*, *oh*. Markers' function is to indicate boundaries in the discourse. They occur either as the pre-head signal in an opening move, or as the head of a framing move, in which case they are used with a falling intonation and followed by a silent stress.

Summons (*sum*): Realised by a closed class of verbal and non-verbal items, such as the use of the name of another participant, or mechanical devices such as door bells, telephone etc. It marks a boundary in the discourse, and indicates that the producer of the item has a topic to introduce once he has gained the attention of the hearer. It can occur either as the head of a framing move or as the signal in an opening move. Summons may also occur as the signal in a focusing move.

Silent stress ($\wedge$): Realised by a pause, indicated in the text by either an exclamation mark or a stage direction following a marker. It highlights the marker or summons when they act as the head of a boundary exchange.

Starters (*s*): Realised by a statement, question or command. It provides information about or directs attention to or thought towards an area in order to make a correct response to the initiation more likely.

Metastatement (*ms*): Realised by a statement, question or command, which refers to a future event in the ongoing conversation, or a request for a speaker's rights. It makes clear the structure of the immediately following discourse, and indicates the speaker's wish for an extended turn. It is the head of a focusing move.

Accept (*acc*): Realised by a closed class of items, *yes*, *Ok*, *I will*, *no* (where the preceding item was negative). Its function is to indicate that the speaker has heard and understood the previous utterance and is compliant. Metastatements and requests for speaker's rights require some sort of "*go ahead*" signal, so these are labelled *accept*. Accept is the head of a responding move.

Comment (*com*): Realised by a statement, question or command or moodless item. It expands, justifies, provides additional information about a preceding informative or comment. It can be a post-head in the initiating or responding move, or a head or a post-head in the follow-up move.

Reply (*rep*): Realised by a statement, question, moodless item, and non-verbal surrogates such as nods. Its function is to provide a linguistic response which is appropriate to the preceding elicitation. It is the head of a responding move.

React (*rea*): Realised by a non-verbal act. It provides an appropriate non-linguistic response to a preceding directive. It is the head of a responding move.

Acknowledge (*ack*): Realised by *yes*, *OK*, *uhuh* and similar, and expressive particles. It indicates that the initiation has been understood. It is the head of a responding move or a follow-up move.

Excuse (*exc*): Realised by a formulaic apology, or a statement or moodless item which substitutes for an apology, and is thus heard as an excuse. Its function is to provide an appropriate response to a preceding accusation. It is the head of a responding move.

Prompt (*pro*): Realised by a closed class of items such as *go on*, *what are you waiting for*, *hurry up*. It reinforces a preceding directive or elicitation. It is the post-head of an initiating move.

Response (*res*): Realised by a statement, question, command or moodless item, and non-verbal surrogates. It provides a response to the preceding suggesting move, or a less appropriate responding move to an elicitation. It can also follow a directive. It is the head of a responding move.

Clarification (*clar*): Realised by a question, statement or moodless item. It is the response to a query. It clarifies the initiating move, and is the head of a responding move in a bound exchange.

Query (*qu*): Realised by a question. It is always dependent on the preceding initiation. Its function is to get more information for the accurate understanding of the initiation. It is the head of an initiating move in a bound exchange.

Elicitation (*el*): Realised by a question. Its function is to request a verbal response, or a silent equivalent such as a nod. It is the head of an initiating move.

Directive (*d*): Realised by a command. It requests a non-verbal response. Occasionally it may be realised by a command requesting a linguistic response. It is the head of an initiating move.

Accuse (*accu*): Realised by a statement, question, command or moodless item. It requests an apology or a surrogate excuse. It is the head of an initiating move.

Announce (*ann*): Realised by a statement followed by a silent stress. Its function is to express strong emotion, conviction or belief. The exclamation mark is taken to be indicative of silent stress. Announce is the head of an initiating move.

Suggest (*sugg*): Realised by a statement, or question, which often includes a reference to the addressee, and/or which implies that the addressee can or is expected to do something in relation to the proposition of the utterance. Suggest is the head of an initiating move.

Ritual (*rit*): Realised by a closed class of items; the expressions used for greeting, introducing, congratulating, etc. Ritual is the head of an initiating move.

Challenge (*cha*): Realised by a statement, question, command or moodless item. Its function is to challenge the presupposition/s carried by the preceding utterance.

Retrospective structuring. - *Sequences* are made up of a recurring pattern that can be of any length; challenging and directing moves may alternate, or several bound exchanges of the same kind may occur one after the other. Sequences tend to co-occur with the climaxes in the activities; they serve to speed up the activities, and through their recurring pattern they simplify and crystallise the direction of the ongoing activities. Example 2 shows the unity created by the alternating suggesting moves of two characters.

Like sequences, *transactions* (see example 1) are defined only retrospectively. They are centred on one specific topic, and can be distinguished within the text with the help of the following boundary-markers: topic change, discourse boundary markers (framing and focusing moves), and stage directions.

In examples 3-9 Goldberg uses framing moves to gain the attention of the addressee, and employs focusing moves to indicate what the following activities will be. The examples are boundary exchanges from the beginning of seven succeeding transactions at the end of the second act.

Suggest	Goldberg: You'll be re-orientated.	sugg
Suggest	MCCann: You'll be rich.	sugg
Suggest	Goldberg: You'll be adjusted.	sugg
Suggest	MCCann: You'll be our pride and joy.	sugg
Suggest	Goldberg: You'll be a mensch.	sugg
Suggest	MCCann: You'll be a success.	sugg
Suggest	Goldberg: You'll be intergrated.	sugg
Suggest	MCCann: You'll give orders	sugg
Suggest	Goldberg: You'll make decisions.	sugg
Suggest	MCCann: You'll be a magnate.	sugg
Bound initiation	Goldberg: A statesman.	sugg
Suggest	MCCann: You'll own yachts.	sugg
Bound initiation	Goldberg: Animals.	sugg
Repeat	MCCann: Animals.	sugg
(Goldberg Challenge	looks at MCCann) Goldberg: I said animals.	cha.

Example 2. A sequence created by recurring suggesting moves (Pinter 1962: 83-84)

Boundary	Goldberg: Now - who's going to propose the toast?	m el	FRAME FOCUS

Example 3 (Pinter 1960: 54)

Boundary	Goldberg: Now, Mrs Boles, its all yours.	d	FOCUS

Example 4 (Pinter 1960: 54)

Boundary	Goldberg: Ah, look who's here.	m ms	FRAME FOCUS

Example 5 (Pinter 1960: 55)

Boundary	Goldberg: Right. Now raise your glasses.	m d	FRAME FOCUS

Example 6 (Pinter 1960: 55)

Boundary	Goldberg: Right. Now Stanley's sat down.	m ms	FRAME FOCUS

Example 7 (Pinter: 1960: 56)

Boundary	Goldberg: Right. Now - who's going to be blind first?	m el	FRAME FOCUS

Example 8 (Pinter 1960: 62)

./..

Boundary	Goldberg: Right!	m	
	Everyone move about.	d	
	McCann.	pro	
	Stanley.	pro	

Example 9 (Pinter 1960: 62)

There are two clearly distinguishable strands in the *monologues*. They can be called the main mode and the interactive mode. The main mode is seen as consisting of two kinds of members (cf.Montgomery 1978), focusing and informing. Focusing members are either prospective or retrospective, indicating on what area the activity will be/was focused. Informing members are the steps through which the monologue proceeds.

The interactive mode consists of inserted sequences of interaction between the speaker and his audience. The points where the speaker addresses his listeners are called plane changes. The following kinds of plane change can be distinguished:

(1) one of the characters present is being addressed;
  (a) reply is given by the addressee;
  (b) reply is given by the speaker;
  (c) there is no reply;

(2) rhetorical questions without answers;

(3) rhetorical questions with answers;
  (a) by the speaker himself;
  (b) by some other character;

(4) interruptions by other characters; and

(5) an unidentified person is being addressed.

The sequences of the interactive mode are analysed by means of discourse units.

Plane changes tie the monologue to the surrounding conversation. In addition, the interactive mode frequently creates a humorous effect for example when rhetorical questions suddenly get appropriate answers, either from the speaker or from one of his audience. Example 10 shows an analysis of a monologue, where on the left side there is the main mode and on the right the interactive mode. The dotted lines indicate the changes in the mode of discourse, ie. the plane changes. The interactive mode is analysed using the coding conventions for discourse analysis.

Boundary	Goldberg: Right. Now Stanley's sat down.	m ms	FRAME FOCUS

(Taking the stage)

Well, I want to say that
I've never been so touched
to the heart FOCUS
as by the toast
we've just heard.

	ELICIT	How often, in this day and age, do you come across real, true warmth?	el	Once in a lifetime.	rep

Until a few minutes ago,
ladies and gentlemen,
I, like all of you, i
was asking the same question.

	ELICIT	What's happened to the love, the bonhomie, the unashamed expression of affection of the day before yesterday, that our mums taught us in the nursery?	el	McCann: Gone with the wind	rep	Goldberg: That's what I thought until today	com

I believe in a good laugh, i
a day's fishing,
a bit of gardening.
I was very proud of
my old greenhouse, i
made out of my own
spit and faith.
That's the sort of i
man I am.
Not size but quality, i
A little Austin,
tea in Fullers,
a library book from Boots, i
and I'm satisfied.
But just now,
I say just now,
the lady of the house
said her piece, i
and I for one am knocked over
by the sentiments

she expressed.
Lucky is the man
who is at the receiving end, FOCUS
that's what I say.

(Pause)

	ELICIT	How can I put it to you?	el				
We all wander on our tod tod through this world. It's a lonely pillow to kip on.		i i					
	ELICIT	Right?	el	Lulu: (admiringly) Right.	rep	Goldberg: Agreed.	ack
But tonight, Lulu, MCCann, we've known a great fortune. We've heard a lady extend the sum total of her devotion, in all its pride, plume and peacock, to a member of her own living race.		i i					
	RITUAL	Stanley, my heartfelt congratulations. I wish you, on behalf of us all, a happy birthday.	sum rit com				
	RE-INFORCE	I'm sure you've never been a prouder man than you are today.	rit				
	RE-INFORCE	Mazoltov! And may we only meet at Simchacs! (Lulu and Meg applaud.)	rit com				
	DIRECT	Turn out the light, MCCann, while we drink the toast.	d				
Inform	Lulu: That was a wonderful speech.	i					

Example 10 (Pinter 1960: 56)

A summary of all the discourse units and ranks is given in Table 3. The stylistic units, sequence and monologue are not included, since no formal description can be given of their structure.

RANK I INTERACTION

Elements of Structure	Structures	Classes of Transaction
	An unordered series of transactions	

RANK II TRANSACTION

Elements of Structure	Structures	Classes of Exchange
Preliminary (P)	PM(M^2...M^n)(T)	P,T: Boundary
Medial (M)		M: Conversational
Terminal (T)		

RANK III EXCHANGE (Conversational)

Elements of Structure	Structures	Classes of Move
Initiation (I)	I(R)((C))^n	I: Opening
Response (R)		R: Responding
Continuation (C)		C: Follow-up

RANK III EXCHANGE (Boundary)

Elements of Structure	Structure	Classes of Move
Frame (Fr)	(Fr)(Fo)$^+$	Fr: Framing
Focus (Fo)		Fo: Focusing

1

RANK IV MOVE (Focusing)

Elements of Structure	Structures	Classes of Act
Signal (s)	(s)(pre-h)h(post-h)	S: marker/summons
Pre-head (pre-h)		pre-h: starter
Head (h)		w: metastatement/directive accuse/elicitation
Post-head (post-h)		post-h: comment

RANK IV MOVE (Framing)

Elements of Structure	Structure	Classes of Act
Head (h)	hq	h: marker/summons
Qualifier (q)		q: silent stress

RANK IV MOVE (Opening)

Elements of Structure	Structure	Classes of Act
Signal (s)	(s)(pre-h)h(post-h)	s: marker/summons
Pre-head (pre-h)		pre-h: starter
Head (h)		h: choice of informative/ accuse/directive/request/ suggest/challenge/ritual/ query/elicitation
Post-head (post-h)		post-h: prompt/comment

RANK IV MOVE (Responding)

Elements of Structure	Structure	Classes of Act
Pre-head (pre-h)	(pre-h)h(post-h)	pre-h: starter
Head (h)		h: choice of reply/react/ response/excuse/accept/ acknowledge/clarification
Post-head (post-h)		post-h: comment/prompt

RANK IV MOVE (Follow-up)

Elements of Structure	Structure	Classes of Act
Pre-head (pre-h)	(pre-h)h(post-h)	pre-h: starter
Head (h)		h: reply/acknowledge/comment
Post-head (post-h)		post-h: comment/prompt

+ Either Frame or Focus has to be chosen.

Table 3. Formal description of the rank scale.

THE AUTHOR - AUDIENCE LEVEL OF DISCOURSE

This section will concentrate on the level of discourse between author and his audience, and try to answer the question "What does the analysis help us to see?". This is the stage where patterns of discourse become messages about the play and its characters. The discussion starts with the initiation - response - feedback structure.

Initiation - Response - Feedback structure. - Discourse analysis specifies three major classes of move; opening, responding and follow-up. The opening move sets up expectations which the responding move should fulfil. For any opening move there is a range of predictable responses which exactly fit the expectations:

summons - accept
elicit - reply
inform - acknowledge
ritual - ritual
suggest - response
accuse - excuse
challenge - response

Moreover, if a follow-up move occurs, it is either an acknowledge or a comment, and this is the case with a possible second follow-up. In the case of the first three exchanges especially, the absence of the second-pair part is immediately noticeable (for example not responding to a greeting). So, although the discourse of a play is coherent by definition, only a certain response/feedback makes up a structurally cohesive entity (cf. elicit - reply/response). Against this pattern of exchange structure other exceptions also stand out: initiations left without a response, initiations challenged, etc. The pattern of exchanges is indicative of the movement in the play's atmosphere: the tranquillity of the first act, the growing tensions in the second, the chaos at the end of the second act, and the same peacefulness again in the third act. Example 11 shows how the regular two-part structure of the exchanges creates a peaceful atmosphere.

Elicit	Meg: You got your paper?	el	Petey: Yes.	rep
Elicit	Meg: Is it good?	el	Petey: Not bad.	rep
Elicit	Meg: What does it say?	el	Petey: Nothing much.	rep
Suggest	Meg: You read me out some nice bits yesterday.	sugg	Petey: Yes, well, I haven't finished this one yet.	res
Direct	Meg: Will you tell me when you come to something good?	d	Petey: Yes.	rep
(Pause) Elicit	Meg: Have you been working hard this morning?	el	Petey: No. Just stacked a few of the old chairs. Cleaned up a bit.	rep com com
Elicit	Meg: Is it nice out?	el	Petey: Very nice.	rep

Example 11. Two-part exchange structure (Pinter 1960: 9-10)

Both characters seem to share the same orientation; there is no misunderstanding or disagreement or uncertainty between them. All initiations get a proper response. Even two-part exchanges like elicitation - response which imply slight divergence from the other person's orientation are very rare.

Example 12 shows a piece of interaction which makes the reader feel something is going to happen: there is a sudden change in the so far peaceful pattern of discourse. Stanley, one of the mysterious characters, enters. The dominant structure in exchanges is now one-part; there is an almost equal number of elicitations, suggestions and challenges. There is, however, an attempt to construct a common conceptual frame compounded of each character's contribution to the interaction.

Suggest	Stanley (advancing): They are coming today.	sugg		
Reinforce	Stanley: They're coming in a van.	sugg		
Bound el.	Meg: Who?	qu		
Elicit	Stanley: And do you know what they've got in that van?	el		
Bound el.	Meg: What?	qu	Stanley: They've got a wheelbarrow in that van.	clar
Challenge	Meg (breathlessly): They haven't!	cha	Stanley: Oh yes they have.	res
Accuse	Meg: You're a liar.	accu		

../.

Suggest	Stanley: A big wheelbarrow. And when the van stops they wheel it out and they wheel it up the garden path, and then they knock at the front door.	s sugg		
Challenge	Meg: They don't!	cha		

Example 12. Dominance of one-part exchanges (Pinter 1960: 24)

Later in the play (see example 13), rule-breaking becomes more evident; informatives do not receive acknowledges, elicitations do not get replies, not even responses, nor do suggestions get responses. Challenges are frequent and are not responded to.

Elicit	Stanley: Why did you choose this house?	el				
Suggest	McCann: You know, sir, you're a bit depressed for a man on his birthday.	sugg				
Elicit	Stanley (sharply): Why do you call me a sir?	el				
Elicit	McCann: You don't like it?	el				
Direct	Stanley (to the table): Listen. Don't call me a sir.	m d	McCann: I won't if you don't like it.	res	Stanley (moving away): No.	com
Inform	Stanley: Anyway, this isn't my birthday.	i				
Bound el.	McCann: No?	qu	Stanley: No. It's not till next month.	clar com		
Challenge	McCann: Not according to the lady.	cha	Stanley: Her? She's crazy. Round the bend.	res com com		
Challenge	McCann: That's a terrible thing to say.	cha				
Elicit	Stanley: Haven't you found that out yet?	el				
Suggest	Stanley: There's a lot you don't know. I think someone's leading you up the garden path.	sugg sugg				
Elicit	McCann: Who would do that?	el				

../.

Announce	Stanley (leaning across the table): That woman's mad!	ann
Challenge	MCCann: That's slander.	
Accuse	Stanley: And you don't know what you're doing.	accu
Direct	MCCann: Your cigarette is near that paper.	d

Example 13. Breaking the rules of conversation (Pinter 1960: 41)

It becomes obvious that not only are the initiations not responded to but the initiator does not want any responses. This is the case in examples 14 and 15.

Elicit	Goldberg: Why are you wasting everybody's time, Webber?		el
Reinforce	Goldberg: Why are you getting in everybody's way?		el
Bound el.	Stanley: Me? What are you -		qu com
Boundary	Goldberg: I'm telling you, Webber. You're a washout.	FRAME FOCUS	sum accu
Elicit	Goldberg: Why are you getting on everybody's wick?		el
Reinforce	Goldberg: Why are you driving that old lady off her conk?		el
Announce	MCCann: He likes to do it!		ann
Elicit	Goldberg: Why do you behave so badly, Webber?		el
Reinforce	Goldberg: Why do you force that old man out to play chess?		el
Bound el.	Stanley: Me?		el
Elicit	Goldberg: Why do you treat that young lady like a leper? She's not the leper, Webber.		el com
Elicit	Stanley: What the -		el
Elicit	Goldberg: What did you wear last week, Webber?		el

Example 14. Ignoring the addressee (Pinter 1960: 47)

Elicit	Goldberg: When did you last have a bath?	el	Stanley: I have one every -	rep
Challenge	Goldberg: Don't lie!			cha

Example 15. Interrupting the addressee (Pinter 1960: 48)

The last interaction of the second act is an example of complete chaos: there is an outburst of initiations which never get a response although some of them are repeated. Consider example 16.

Announce	Lulu: The lights!	ann
Elicit	Goldberg: What's happened?	el
Re-init.	Lulu: The lights!	ann
Direct	Goldberg: Wait a minute.	d
Elicit	Goldberg: Where's he?	el
Direct	McCann: Let go of me!	d
Elicit	Goldberg: Who's this?	el
Announce	Lulu: Someone's touching me!	ann
Repeat	McCann: Where is he?	el
Elicit	Meg: Why has the light gone out?	el
(McCann shines a torch in Goldberg's face.) Direct	Goldberg: Not on me!	d

Example 16. Initiations without responses (Pinter 1960: 64)

At the end of the play the exchange structure is two-part again, suggesting that life is back to normal, eg. example 17.

Inform	Meg (coming downstage): The car's gone.	i	Petey: Yes.	ack		
Elicit	Meg: Have they gone?	el	Petey: Yes.	rep		
Elicit	Meg: Won't they be in for lunch?	el	Petey: No.	rep	Meg: Oh, what a shame.	com
(She puts her bag on the table.) Inform (She hangs her coat on a hook.)	Meg: It's hot out.	i				
Elicit	Meg: What are you doing?	el	Petey: reading.	rep		
Elicit	Meg: Is it good?	el	Petey: All right.	rep		

Example 17. Regularity of the two-part exchange structure (Pinter 1960: 86)

Orientation. - Orientation is the highest category in the Sinclair-Coulthard model for discourse (cf p. 4). Orientation is characterised as a grouping of systems, which themselves are groupings of choices realised in the language. Following certain tracks through the network will lead to classifications similar to familiar everyday ones, eg. the hostile witness, the difficult patient, the permissive teacher. Other tracks will show inconsistencies and changing relationships.

Bound exchanges are good indicators of convergent and divergent orientation between the characters, and of submissive and dominant characters. It is argued that bound elicitations in particular, and re-initiations to some extent, are indicative of misunderstanding between two speakers. It is claimed that repeats and bound initiations give evidence of the submissive character of the person using them. Reinforcements show either emotion or that the person who employs them wants deliberately to emphasise his message. Repeats are sometimes used for the same purpose. Bound elicitations can also be used as a time-gaining device.

An example of convergent orientation is the long sequence (see example 18) where two characters, Goldberg and MCCann, take turns to persuade the addressee to believe in his good future:

Inform	MCCann: We'll provide the skipping rope.	i
Bound in.	Goldberg: The vest and pants.	i
Bound in.	MCCann: The ointment.	i
Bound in.	Goldberg: The hot poultice.	i
Bound in.	MCCann: The fingerstall.	i
Bound in.	Goldberg: The abdomen belt.	i
Bound in.	MCCann: The ear plugs.	i
Bound in.	Goldberg: The baby powder.	i
Bound in.	MCCann: The back scratcher.	i
Bound in.	Goldberg: The spare tyre.	i
Bound in.	MCCann: The stomach pump.	i
Bound in.	Goldberg: The oxygen tent.	i
Bound in.	MCCann: The prayer wheel.	i
Bound in.	Goldberg: The plaster of Paris.	i
Bound in.	MCCann: The crash helmet.	i
Bound in.	Goldberg: The crutches.	i
Bound in.	MCCann: A day and night service.	i
Reinforce	Goldberg: All on the house.	i
Reinforce	MCCann: That's it.	i

Example 18. Convergent orientation (Pinter 1960: 83)

Divergent orientation is shown in several ways: initiations may not get responses or may be challenged, informatives may be followed by elicitations from the addressee, or two separate lines of conversation may be going on where each of the speakers is skip-connecting to his own utterances. Frequent use of bound elicitations is indicative of slight misunderstanding or amazement. Consider example 19.

Inform	Stanley: I'm considering a job at the moment.	i	Meg: You're not.	ack
Reinforce	Stanley: A good one, too. A night club. In Berlin.	s s i		
Bound el.	Meg: Berlin?	qu	Stanley: Berlin.	clar
Reinforce	Stanley: A night club. Playing the piano. A fabulous salary. And all found.	s s i com		
Elicit	Meg: How long for?	el		
Inform	Stanley: We don't stay in Berlin. Then we go to Athens.	s i		
Re-init.	Meg: How long for?	el	Stanley: Yes	res
Inform	Stanley: Then we pay a flying visit to ...er...whatisname...	i		
Bound el.	Meg: Where?	qu		

Example 19. Divergent orientation: amazement (Pinter 1960: 22)

If there are many bound exchanges in the speech of the characters, it always indicates that deep emotions are involved; as in example 20.

Direct	MCCann (rising swiftly and going behind Goldberg's chair. Hissing.): Let's finish and go.	d
Reinforce	MCCann: Let's get it over and go.	d
Reinforce	MCCann: Get the thing done.	d
Reinforce	MCCann: Let's finish the bloody thing.	d
Reinforce	MCCann: Let's get the thing done and go!	d
(Pause) Elicit	MCCann: Will I go up?	el
(Pause) Boundary (Goldberg	MCCann: Nat! sum sits humped. MCCann slips to his side.)	
Re-init.	MCCann: Simey!	

../.

Bound el.	Goldberg (opening his eyes, regarding MCCann): What - did - you - call - me?	qu
Bound el.	MCCann: Who?	qu
Direct	Goldberg (murderously): Don't call me that!	d
Reinforce	(He seizes MCCann by the throat) Goldberg: NEVER CALL ME THAT!	d

Example 20. Divergent orientation: emotional involvement (Pinter 1960: 76)

Dependance on another character is most obviously shown by frequent use of repeats, as in example 21.

Suggest	Goldberg: We're right and you're wrong, Webber, all along the line.	sugg
Repeat	MCCann: All along the line!	ann

Example 21. Convergent orientation: dependance (Pinter 1960: 51)

Turn-taking. - The study of exchange structure clarifies the role of the initiator and the framework which he erects with his initiating move. To take an example, in a conversation between Meg and Petey, Meg is clearly the dominant conversationalist. She makes the most initiations and manages to get them properly responded to. The framework which Meg most frequently erects is an elicitation followed by a reply from the addressee, or an informative followed by an acknowledge. It has been claimed that the person who makes an initiation has a reserved right to make another initiation etc; Meg's conversational behaviour seems to follow that chaining rule, as in example 22.

Elicit	Meg: What are you reading?	el	Petey: Someone's just had a baby.	rep	Meg: Uh, they they haven't!	com
Elicit	Meg: Who?	el	Petey: Some girl.	rep		
Re-init.	Meg: Who, Petey, who?	el	Petey: I don't think you'd know her.	res		
Elicit	Meg: What's her name?	el	Petey: Lady Mary Splatt.	rep		
Inform	Meg: I don't know her.	i	Petey: No.	ack		

Example 22. Chaining rule (Pinter 1960: 11)

The follow-up move (example 23) makes Meg's dominance even more obvious:

Inform	Meg: Here's your cornflakes.	i				
(He rises and takes the plate from her, sits at the table, props up the paper and begins to eat. Meg enters by the kitchen door.)						
Elicit	Meg: Are they nice?	el	Petey: Very nice.	rep	Meg: I thought they'd be nice.	com

Example 23. Display of dominance (Pinter 1960: 9)

Against the pattern of Meg's recurring initiations, the moment when Petey takes the initiative is indicative of something unusual. That happens when some real-life matter need talking about, but even then Meg gets the last word. Consider example 24.

Inform	Petey (turning to her): Oh, Meg, two men came up to me on the beach last night.	i				
Bound el.	Meg: Two men?	qu	Petey: Yes.	clar		
Inform	Petey: They wanted to know if we could put them up for a couple of nights.	i				
Bound el.	Meg: Put them up? Here?	s qu	Petey: Yes.	clar		
Elicit	Meg: How many men?	el	Petey: Two.	rep		
Elicit	Meg: What did you say?	el	Petey: Well, I said I didn't know. So they said they'd come round to find out.	rep com		
Elicit	Meg: Had they heard about us, Petey?	el	Petey: They must have done.	rep	Meg: Yes, they must have done.	com
Inform	Meg: They must have heard this was a very good boarding house. This house is on the list.	i	Petey: It is.	ack	Meg: I know it is.	com

Example 24. Changing of the initiator (Pinter 1960: 12)

GENERAL ASPECTS: HUMOUR

It is possible to use the discourse analysis framework to gain insight into some more general aspects of the play as well, such as for example humour and irony.

Much of the humour of the play can be explained through discourse units. A frequent use of the follow-up move, especially when it co-occurs with a phatic topic, creates the feeling that the conversation is deliberately being continued although there is not much to talk about:

Ritual	I'm Mr Goldberg and this is Mr MCCann.	rit	Meg: Very pleased to meet you.	rit		
(They shake hands.)						
Repeat	Goldberg: We're pleased to meet you, too.	rit	Meg: That's very nice.	ack	Goldberg: You're right.	com
Elicit	Goldberg: How often do you meet someone it's a pleasure to meet?	el	MCCann: Never.	rep	Goldberg: But today it's different.	com
Ritual	Goldberg: How are you keeping, Mrs Boles?	rit	Meg: Oh, very well thank you.	rit		
Reinforce	Goldberg: Yes? Really?	s el	Meg: Oh, yes, really.	rep	Goldberg: I'm glad.	ack

Example 25. Recurring use of the follow-up move (Pinter 1960: 30)

At transaction rank, the humorous effect is created by the phatic communion; several empty topics follow each other in the conversation in example 26.

Elicit	Meg: Is that you, Petey?	el				
(Pause)						
Bound in.	Meg: Petey?	sum	Petey: What?	acc		
Re-init.	Meg: Is that you?	el	Petey: Yes, it's me.	rep		
Elicit	Meg: What? (Her face appears at the hatch) Are you back?	s el	Petey: Yes.	rep		
Inform	Meg: I've got your cornflakes ready.	i				
(She disappears and reappears.)						
Inform	Meg: Here's your cornflakes	i				
(He rises and takes the plate from her, sits at the table, props up the paper and begins to eat. Meg enters by the kitchen door.)						
Elicit	Meg: Are they nice?	el	Petey: Very nice.	rep	Meg: I thought they'd be nice.	com

Example 26. Phatic communion in the light of transactions (Pinter 1960: 9)

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been to show that a dramatic text can profitably be described using the discourse analysis framework. Because of its dynamic character, discourse analysis is well suited to analysing the ongoing activities of a play. The rhythm of the larger structures of the play can be studied through the larger discourse units, ie. interactions, transactions and sequences. The notion of exchange has proved helpful in the study of relationships between the characters of the play, as well as in the study of some general aspects of the play, like humour and irony. It also seems possible to create an interpretation of the play based on a description at the level of discourse.

Yet, although discourse analysis provides a piece of text with a structure, it cannot account for the semantic unity of the text. It is necessary to study cohesion to complement the analysis. The continuity that cohesion provides is based on the fact that it expresses at each stage of the discourse the points of contact with the things that have previously occurred in the discourse. However, a new problem will be created: what exactly should be the units that cohesion links together?

For Halliday and Hasan (1976) the category of sentence is an important component in their approach to cohesion. In their view, structure accounts for the formation of sentences but not for the organisation of texts; within the sentence it is possible to specify a limited number of possible structures, but that is not possible for a text. So cohesion with devices such as substitution, reference, and ellipsis is invoked to account in semantic, and not structural, terms for the interrelationships between sentences.

In studying extended passages of text, however, it seems clear that texture is created by the interplay of all the various cohesive devices, irrespective of whether they are sentential or intersentential. This is especially true of reference, substitution and lexical cohesion, where chains or strings of items create a continuous thread through texts both within and between sentences.

To conclude, although discourse analysis on its own can provide a worthwhile analytical method, more insight into the text analysed could be gained through the study of cohesion. Cohesion could be seen as working between the smallest discourse units, acts, and since the discourse analysis method is based on a rank scale system, the act being the basic cohesive unit, cohesion would occur both within and between discourse units. In other words, discourse analysis and the study of cohesion could be seen as two complementary aspects of an analysis.

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THE CONVERSATION CLASS: AN EXERCISE IN APPLIED DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTION

The foreign language conversation class provides an important type of discourse - at least, if we consider questions such as frequency of occurrence, expenditure, and expectations which are based on it. And yet it is insufficiently understood, even to the extent of being thought of as a paradigm of 'pseudo-discourse'. Explanations for the failure and frustrations frequently experienced by participants are often couched in psychological terms (personality, group dynamics, etc.), and yet it might be more realistic, since it is a discourse situation, to analyze it purely and simply in discourse terms (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Couthard 1977).

What, then, might a discourse analysis of a conversation class reveal, and how might such an analysis be helpful? It is well-known that what transpires in the conversation class is very often at variance, in discourse terms, with what was intended should transpire. What is not sufficiently appreciated is that what transpires is also very often at variance with what was perceived to have transpired. In a way this is not surprising because the teacher's multiple roles in this situation (regulator of the discourse, participant in it, and provider of feedback on its intelligibility and form) are unlikely to permit him an objective perspective. The teacher can, indeed, be the least reliable guide as to what is happening or failing to happen in the conversation class (even on such obvious questions as the relative contributions of the various participants, his own not excepted), and if he is to assess the effectiveness of the lesson and whether it is fulfilling the aims he has set, he will occasionally have to stand back from the situation and reflect on it as a neutral observer. He might also pause to reflect on some of the ways in which the 'ground rules' of the situation differ from those which are thought of as underlying 'normal', 'everyday' transactions, and also pause to consider some of the ways in which his or her own discourse expectations and assumptions (both idiosyncratic and culturally determined) might differ from those of the other participants.

Intuitively there appear to be at least three aspects of the conversation class situation which merit further investigation:

(1) In sociolinguistic terms the conversation class is a unique, even bizarre, happening. If one isolates the various features of the setting (topic, number of participants, manner of regulation, etc.), one recognizes a hybrid, even contradictory, situation. The number of participants, the existence of a chairman, and its sanctioned occurrence at a regular time suggest similarities with a formal meeting (society, board meeting, etc.). In terms of topic (middlebrow discussion of social problems and current affairs) it probably corresponds more closely to coffee-bar, railway compartment, and dinner table situations. In terms of language functions (the chaining of a series of elicit - supply moves) the corresponding, naturally occurring situation would be the one-to-one situation of the witness box or the psychiatric couch. (For a consideration of 'natural' conversation, see Crystal and Davy 1975.)

(2) There appear to be marked discourse differences and expectations between Finnish and English. These differences, because they derive from variable rather than categorical rules, are hard to isolate with precision, but they certainly colour the conversation class situation and frequently create tensions within it. That they do exist is clear from the fact that there are such firmly held stereotyped attitudes as "Finns are shy but frank" or "The English are glib and hypocritical". If one attempts to analyze these attitudes and to introspect on the differences between comparable discourse situations held in Finnish and English one finds that they point to such possible discourse differences as the following:

- a degree of silence which would be considered inappropriate and uncomfortable in an English setting tends to be tolerated by the participants in a Finnish setting;
- to limit one's reply to no more and no less than what was requested would probably not be considered inappropriate in a Finnish setting, whereas in a corresponding English setting it might be interpreted as brusque and cold. This

accounts for the rather crisp, literal replies to an interviewer's questions which one often hears on Finnish radio or television, whereas in the corresponding English setting a question might well be met with at one extreme by a considerable degree of hedging or at the other extreme by a spontaneous release of non-elicited opinion. In other words, in an English opinion-elicitation setting a question is frequently an invitation to speak freely on or around a particular question, whereas in the corresponding Finnish setting it may be considered appropriate, even polite, to frame one's reply as closely as possible to suit the question form;

- opinion-expression in informal conversation settings in English does not seem to require the same degree of personal commitment to the ideas expressed that it appears to require in corresponding Finnish settings. There appear to be differences in the relative values which are attached to the content of an opinion and the form in which it is expressed. In an English setting opinions might often be considered counters in a conversational game and loss of face in an argument might depend less on the content and validity of an argument than on its manner of expression. Thus, a comparison of Finnish and English discussion programmes on radio or television reveals a much greater degree of repartee, irony, playfulness, perversity or even phatic opinion expression in the English setting.

(3) The conversation class is characteristically based on elicitation and expression of opinion. It would be well worth considering the underlying conditions which must be met for these acts to be performed validly. These might include:

(i) participant X is invested with the right to elicit the opinion of participant Y on topic Z;
(ii) X can reasonably expect Y to have an opinion on Z;
(iii) X does not know Y's opinion on Z;
(iv) X's elicitation and Y's expression of opinion are intended to serve some further function (aesthetic, pragmatic, etc.), for which the verbalizing of them is simply a necessary prerequisite.

The foregoing has presented some 'soft', introspective data on the conversation class situation. We now present some 'hard' data based on an analysis of one such conversation class. It must be understood that we are not attempting to generalize from this one situation to all, but simply suggesting the advisability of subjecting conversation classes to discourse analysis, so that the teacher can then make decisions as to whether he wishes to use this type of situation for pedagogic purposes and, if so, how he should set about controlling and manipulating it.

ANALYSIS

A 90-minute 'oral skills' class in English in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Jyvaskyla was tape-recorded, transcribed, and coded. Nine third-year students participated, all of whom had 'long' school English with slightly above-average grades. It was decided, for the purpose of this experiment, to take a general discussion topic which it was felt all students would have something to say about - "Finnish television". The lesson was divided into three parts of approximately equal duration: (A) a discussion in Finnish with the teacher out of the room; (B) a discussion in English with the teacher present but not participating, the role of chairman being allocated to one of the students; and (C) a discussion in English led by the teacher. There was a certain overlap in topics discussed and opinions expressed between the three parts, but on the whole each part represented a progression from the previous part. After transcription each part was sub-divided into 'transactions' (identified by change of topic), and each transaction was analyzed in terms of 'turn' and 'function' (the two, of course, not necessarily being identical). It was found that a system of ten categories was sufficient for this purpose:

1. Initiate opinion
2. Tag opinion
3. Contrary opinion
4. Elicit opinion
5. Elicit clarification/explanation
6. Elicit factual information
7. Supply clarification/explanation
8. Supply factual information
9. Gloss own/other's opinion
10. Aside/facetious comment

For the sake of comprehensiveness all the results are summarized below. Some are doubtless trivial and hardly surprising, others are perhaps more fundamental.

FINDINGS

1. The average duration of a student turn in part A was 5.2 secs., in B 10.5 secs., and in C 17.3 secs. These durations have no significance in absolute terms, only in relation to each other. The difference between A and B might be interpreted as a crude indication of the students' fluency in English relative to their mother tongue, since in propositional terms there are no marked differences in turn length between Finnish and English. The difference between B and C is a result partly of a slightly increased propositional content, and partly that the turns in C are 'tied' forms (nominated elicitations) whereas in B they are spontaneous, 'free' forms.

2. The three students who spoke most (in terms of numbers of turns) in Finnish also spoke most in the two English situations, and the four students who spoke least in Finnish also spoke least in English. Thus, with only two students is there a marked difference in contribution to the discussion between the Finnish and English situations. Certainly, number of turns is a cruder measure than length of time holding the floor (it was impossible to obtain reliable timings of this because of factors such as silences between speakers and overlappings), but it does seem to partially contradict the explanation from reticent students that they talk more in their mother tongue - perhaps this is so in absolute terms, but not relative to the other participants.

3. Although one of the functions of the teacher is thought of as being to equalize student talking times as much as possible, there are no marked differences between situations B and C where three students alone account for 71% and 80% respectively of the student turns.

4. In situation C the teacher spoke for 56% of the time and accounted for 50% of the turns. His estimation, before being confronted with the data, was that he had not spoken for more than a quarter of the time. His justification of his speaking time when he was confronted with the facts was that the situation would have fallen apart without his

own contribution to it and regulation of it.

5. There were 35 overlappings and interruptions in A, 12 in B, and 8 (of which the teacher was responsible for 5) in C.

6. 81% of the turns in A were opinion expressing turns, 62% in B, and 32% in C.

7. The discourse structure of a transaction in A is typically a stringing of opinions; in B it is still so, though to a less marked extent; but in C it is typically the teacher providing a 'starter' (*gloss*, *student opinion* or *supply information* followed by an *elicit opinion* or an *elicit information*) which is then followed by a student *supply information* or *initiate opinion* move. Moves are nominated by the teacher and are typically two-part teacher/student exchanges.

8. There is a distinct modality shift from opinion expression in Finnish to opinion expression in English. In Finnish the opinions are typically firm and categorical, in English they are more likely to be tentative and hesitant ("Perhaps..." or "Wouldn't it be better if...").

9. In situation A there are numerous examples of 'glossing' and 'interpretive' procedures at work, where propositional gaps in the discourse are being filled in by the participants' shared knowledge, eg.

Student A: Mun mielesta TV:ssa naytetaan liikaa vanhoja suomalaisia elokuvia.

Student B: On siita varmaan hyotya niille jotka ei saa kunnon elaketta.

Here two missing propositions are supplied by the participants to make the exchange coherent:

(1) old Finnish films = Tauno Palo (a well-known actor)

(2) Tauno Palo didn't receive an artist's pension

Not surprisingly, situations B and C yielded no comparable examples, providing 'smoother' exchanges with explicit semantic links.

10. In situation A connective devices were used for accomplishing hesitations (*tuota*, *mutta*, etc.) whereas in situations B and C hesitations were normally marked by silence. Moreover, hesitations and pauses here often fell in inappropriate places, eg. a pause between modal and main verb was 80% predictable in the data.

11. In A and B the majority of moves are bids, whereas in C they are nominated moves.

12. Of the possible channels of communication, ie. the total number of addresser-addressee pairs possible, 55% are utilized in A, 47% in B, and 23% in C. In the case of C it should be added that only 5 of the possible 81 channels utilized do not involve the teacher as a participant.

DISCUSSION

This paper has had three main aims:

(a) to attempt to describe some of the factors and tensions at work in this particular discourse situation;

(b) to suggest the advisability for te practising teacher of subjecting his conversation classes to analysis, both at the introspective level and at the 'harder' level of quantifying what is in fact happening there and comparing it with what he perceives to be happening;

(c) to suggest some lines for further enquiry, such as:

1. Can the findings of this analysis be generalized to all similar situations? For example, do findings 2 and 8 indicate an inherent feature of the conversation class?
2. Would clear differences in terms of language function, channel usage, etc., emerge if the groups were compared in different discourse situations (eg. role-play, simulation, problem solving)?
3. Would there be clear differences between Finnish students discussing in Finnish and a comparable group of English native-speakers discussing the same topic in English?
4. Could some of the intuitive aspects of the analysis be subjected to the same type of empirical participant observation used by Garfinkel (1967), thus yielding 'hard' data on matters like tolerance of silence, reaction to breaches of rules, etc. (See Wilson, 1980)?
5. Would a comparison with conversation classes in other foreign languages reveal correspondingly different discourse expectations and required approaches? Only in this way would it be possible to come to a full understanding and appreciation

of the full range of idiosyncratic and culturally-determined discourse rules at work, and, subsequently to produce appropriate teaching materials;

b. Can 'soft' data, ie. interviews with participants on such questions as which approaches work, which fail, which topics succeed, what particular setting is effective, etc., contribute validly to improving the conversation class?

One conclusion that does appear obvious is that a course in English conversation based on the pattern of C would have little pedagogic value; it represents a functionally impoverished, somewhat ritualistic form of discourse which is overly dominated by the teacher - one, moreover, which bears little relationship to the students' own discourse preferences when they are permitted to regulate conversation themselves. Other techniques which call forth a more varied range of language functions and types of move are available (eg. simulations and role-plays). So also are techniques for better sharing talking time, so that more reticent students are brought more into the discourse by being assigned more central roles. Some of the findings listed above clearly suggest teaching inputs to improve specific aspects of communicative ineffectiveness with this particular group of students, while others suggest ways in which the teacher should modify certain aspects of his handling of this type of situation. Further investigation along the lines suggested above will enlighten us on problems specific to this group of students and, more generally, on those inherent in the conversation class.

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SUBJECT AND THEME IN ENGLISH DISCOURSE

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INTRODUCTION

This paper will discuss the thematic properties of the grammatical subject of the English sentence. Simultaneously, it is an attempt to relate the concept of clausal theme to that of discoursal theme, or topic of discourse. For this purpose, the analysis is based not on separate clauses or sentences, but on observations on sentences in authentic discourse, i.e., text-sentences (Lyons 1977:622). One problem will be that of terminology. The terms theme, topic, and even subject, are all used to refer both to clause-level and to discourse-level properties. This may well be an indication of an intuitively felt close and intricate relationship between the ideas expressed in text-sentences and the main idea of the whole discourse, i.e., the discourse topic. For the purposes of concrete analysis, however, these concepts will have to be re-examined here.

The term theme is generally used to imply one or several of the following criteria (based on Enkvist 1975:60):[1]

(a) The structural, or, in English, the positional criterion. In English, this means that the theme occurs as an initial nominal element in a clause (Halliday 1967:199 ff. Sinclair 1972:87 ff.)

(b) The criterion of givenness, which operates on above-clause level. It requires that the theme refers to something which, in the context concerned, has already been mentioned, or can easily be identified. This criterion can also be expressed in terms of the information value of the theme.

(c) The psychological criterion, which requires that the theme represents what the speaker wants to speak about, i.e., the topic of conversation. Therefore, this criterion will here be referred to with the term criterion of topicality.

Now, due to the grammatical structure of the English sentence, the subject of an unmarked clause or simple sentence has properties which are commonly attributed to the theme. As in example (1), the subjects of a sequence of sentences may fulfil all the three criteria (the themes have been underlined):

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[1] Since we are here concerned with the structural, surface properties of discourse, the logical or deep subject of a sentence is not considered among the criteria of theme.

(1) He did not want to go. Oh, no, he very much did not want to go with her. He was laying the responsibility for what might happen on her... DL 67

These subjects are initial, they have a common, given referent, and they represent what is being talked about. Thus, when a piece of discourse consists of a string of simple sentences, all of which have the structure of an unmarked clause, all of which have a subject with a common referent, and all of which have a subject indicating the topic of conversation, i.e., what the sentence is about, each subject is the theme of the sentence in which it occurs. In this sense, we may speak about sentence theme, which is a discoursal, not clausal concept.

Very often, however, authentic discourse has a more complicated structure. We shall now proceed to examine cases where the above definition of theme cannot as such be applied to discourse. We have to find out whether it is possible to locate the theme of a text-sentence even when the sentence is complex and contains several subjects, what the conditions are under which the criteria of givenness and topicality are satisfied in discourse, and whether, in fact, they are relevant at all to discourse analysis.

THE POSITIONAL CRITERION AND THE SENTENCE THEME

The positional criterion emphasises the position of the theme in a sentence or clause. It needs specification in cases where we are dealing with sentences containing several subjects. Since a complex sentence may be considered unmarked when the main clause precedes the subclause, the subject of the initial main clause would in this case be the sentence theme, as in (2):

(2) *Men and women* are socially different in that society lays down different roles for them... PT 94

If there are several main clauses in a sentence, there are two alternative ways of handling them. We may regard the first subject the theme of the whole sentence, or we may consider each main clause to have its own theme. The former seems more justified. After all, the way in which clauses are put together and sentences are structured is a choice made by the writer, and results in a special thematic structure. Thus, in example (3), the subject of the first clause would be the sentence theme:

(3) *Yugoslavia* is a multilingual nation where language may act as
a defining *characteristics* (orig. italics):
Slovene, Macedonian, Alabanian and Hungarian are spoken by
ethnic groups... PT 61

If, again, a complex sentence contains an initial subclause followed by the main clause, the problem does not arise if the referents of the two subjects are the same. But if the subjects of the main clause and the subclause have a different referent, as in (4) below, the choice can hardly be made on the basis of the positional criterion alone, which would make the subject of the initial subclause the sentence theme:

(4) If the relationship between speakers is not an intimate one,
then Spanish is used... PT 125

Here the grammatical structure of the sentence, which, again is a choice made by the writer, gives the primary status to the subject of the main clause. This also gives it a thematically prominent position. The same is the case if there is an adverbial adjunct preceding the sentence theme, as in the following:

(5) Through our linguistic evidence we have become sensitive,
normally subconsciously, to correlations... PT 44

THE CRITERION OF GIVENNESS AND THE SENTENCE THEME

The criterion of givenness is one which must be examined in the light of the textual context. Enkvist (1975:73-74), discussing dynamics of the theme, takes up two main ways of developing the theme in a text: repetition of the theme (teeman toisto), where cohesive relations tie up the themes of successive sentences, and progression of theme (teemaprogressio), where cohesive ties exist between the theme of one sentence and the rheme of the preceding one. These two types are exemplified by the following authentic cases:

REPETITION OF THEME (1) He did not want to go. Oh, no, he very much did
not want to go with her. He was laying the
responsibility for what might happen on her in
the way he stood up, signifying the willingness,
or at least his agreement to go with her.
PROGRESSION OF THEME She led the way out, and he followed.- DL 67

In these cases, then, repetition of theme creates a sequence of sentence themes which have the same referent. Progression of theme, on the other hand, is a way of establishing a new sentence theme from among the referents which have already been mentioned but have not occurred as sentence themes in the immediate context.

In both types of development of the theme the subject used as a sentence theme satisfies the criterion of givenness. There are, however, cases, where the development of the theme is more subtle, not based on identical referents of the successive themes. Instead, there occurs a *shift of reference* which may enlarge, narrow down, or give a new focus to the development of the theme. The following examples illustrate the narrowing down of the reference of a sequence of sentence themes:

(6) *The Shire* at this time had hardly any 'government'.
Families for the most part managed their own affairs. JRRT 21

(7) *Seasonings* cannot penetrate meat any more than can salt.
The flavor of garlic slipped into meat is not distributed, and someone invariably gets the garlic into his mouth. *Onions, peppers, and celery* quickly overcook and their flavor become (sic) stale. AD 25

The shifts of reference are based on a variety of different semantic relationships (van Dijk(1977:97 ff.) discusses discourse coherence in general from the point of view of semantic relationships). They may be expressed by means of synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms, members of binary pairs, etc. The relation underlying a shift of reference may also be signalled by a discourse adjunct, as in examples (8) and (9) (adjuncts have underlining):

(8) *Many linguists* concentrated their studies on the *idiolect* (orig. italics) - the speech of one person at one time in one style. *Dialectologists*, on the other hand, concentrated on the speech of rural informants... PT 37

(9) ...*bus-company employees*... are much more likely to call buses with two decks *deckers* (orig. italics), while laymen will generally refer to them as *doubledeckers* (orig. italics). Similarly, professional soccer players and laymen both discuss... PT 104

Further, a larger narrative or descriptive frame makes shifts of sentence theme possible without the introduction of a new referent or of signalling the shift. Examples (10)-(12) illustrate the use of a narrative or descriptive frame in the introduction of new referents by means of theme shifts:

(10) *The boat* rides beautifully. *N.* has christened her the van Norden. Now in still weather *we* keep her anchored close under the balcony... LD 25-26

(11) As we move slowly down from the dead lands, *the road* becomes more and more precipitous, and the green valley comes up at

us... *We* roar through several small hamlets... *A woman* stands frowsily at her door and empties coffee grounds upon the stones. *Two children* sit under a bench playing with a tortoise. *A policeman* shouts something unintelligible. LD 120

(12) *She* walked on and soon was among trees that as she moved, moved overhead... *A pool* lay darkly in the dark: sky and trees above it, trees and sky beneath it. *She* sat down on the wet heather earth, seeing through the trees the moon becoming steadily brighter in the darkening sky. *A dog* saw it also and bayed... WF 250-51

What is at work here can, of course, be approached from the point of view of the reading process. The reader expects that the universe of discourse, as it is gradually built by successive sentences, forms a 'rational totality' (Östman 1979:103), and is prepared to adjust his interpretation accordingly.

The rules governing this process of creating a text are probably very complex and difficult to investigate. As the stretches of discourse to be examined get larger, more factors enter into sight, both linguistic and extralinguistic. The interpretation of the semantic relations which underlie the coherence of a piece of discourse seems to take place in the ~~light of~~ the total event of reading, influenced by the text as well as by the reader's own linguistic and pragmatic prerequisites. For the criterion of givenness this means that the identification of the referent of a theme is possible even when there is little actual cohesion, or evidence of straightforward relationships such as inclusion, opposition, complementation, etc.

Furthermore, the thematic development of discourse is not linear. As Virginia Woolf says (1928:77), "a book is not made of sentences laid end to end, but of sentences built, if an image helps, into arcades or domes." There are, we may assume, hierarchies of major and minor themes or discourse subtopics, building up the whole which may be referred to as the discourse topic. This naturally results in a network of interlinking references in the text, with many more cohesive ties between them than just those existing between the theme and the theme/rheme of the previous sentence. This may greatly complicate the use of the criterion of givenness. The following example illustrates the different functions of sentences and the resulting cohesive network:

(13) *Singulatio nex variation* arise because, as we have already

> seen, language, as a social phenomenon, is closely related to social attitudes. *Men and women* are socially different in that society lays dawn different social roles for them and expects different behaviour pattern from them. *Language* simply reflects this social fact. PT 94

In example (13), cohesive ties abound between the thematic and rhematic parts of the three sentences. However, the theme of the third sentence is cohesively linked to the theme and rheme of the first sentence, not of the second. The second sentence, in fact, has the status of example, it illustrates the assertion made in the first. The third sentence then sums up the argument, and reiterates the earlier theme. Thus the textual functions of successive sentences may be reflected in the structure of discourse. In other words, the thematic structure of sentences also depends on whether they are assertions, examples, generalizations, etc., and even cohesive relationships may be influenced by their textual functions. (The same applies to, and is more prominent in, spoken language, see Widdowson 1977.) Thus, exemplification may be the reason for a sudden shift of thematic reference. In fact, as readers, we are probably unconsciously prepared to interpret shifts of reference in successive sentence themes as signals for the introduction of example material, as in the following:

> (14) It was recognised a long time ago that black Americans spoke English differently from the whites. *A British visitor* writing in 1746 said of the American colonists... PT 64

This kind of shift is often signalled:

> (15) *Registers* are usually characterised solely by vocabulary differences: either by the use of particular words, or by the use of a word in a particular sense. For example, *bus-company employees*... are much more likely... PT 104

For a discussion of cases of this type of sentence theme see below, pp. 10 ff.

Up to now, we have dealt with cases in which the subject is the sentence theme in the sense that it fulfils the criteria of both position and givenness. The next problem is the type of sentence where the subject is a formal element ant thus fails to satisfy the criterion of givenness, as in examples (16) to (19):

> (16) *Western man* is no longer the master of the world... It is as

well that he should learn how to open the conversation. It is necessary for him to realise that there is no longer any break... ME 28

(17) *The growing middle class*, who in many ways benefited directly and magnificently from the results of these doctrines were in a dilemma. It was to their distinct advantage (...) to enter the 'great world'... RWW 143

(18) *Garp* had a foolish ego that went out of its way to remember insults to and rejections of his work. It is fortunate for Helen that she had a ferocious ego of her own... JI 182

(19) There is a view which... is ...referred to... PT 24

Similarly problematic are pseudo-clefts and infinitive constructions such as those below:

(20) *He* can, of course, make... What he can do... is to engage himself... PT 13-14

(21) To investigate this possibility was relatively easy... PT 44

In (16)-(21) there is, however, a continuous line of reference running through the sentences in each example. In most cases there is a sentence theme in one of the successive sentences, but the line of references is not always continued by means of thematic subjects. A previously thematised referent may appear in a later sentence as an object or in some other grammatical function other then the subject. Again, we face the question of priority of criteria. If the criterion of givenness overrules the criterion of position, then the purely grammatical subject cannot be considered the sentence theme. In this paper, where theme is discussed as a textual concept, this stand is tentatively taken. This means that in cases where the grammatical subject is a dummy, the sentence theme is located on the basis of the context, to establish a continuous line of referents, if possible. In order to do this, however, we need to discuss the remaining criterion, that of topicality.

THE CRITERION OF TOPICALITY AND THE SENTENCE THEME

The criterion of topicality requires that the theme indicates what the clause or sentence is about. Of all the three criteria, this seems to be crucial in bridging the gap from clause to discourse, since sentences that form a continuous piece of discourse obviously have to relate to each other and to their common discourse topic. This relation to discourse topic may be direct, particularly in a short piece of discourse, or indirect, based on a hierarchy of subtopics. A sentence theme could thus be expected to function as one possible bridge between sentences and whole discourse, linking up the topic of conversation of an individual sentence with the topic of a larger discourse unit, eg. a paragraph, which is a subtopic or one of the subtopics which together create the discourse topic.

This criterion, like that of givenness, can also be examined from the point of view of the reading process. Since the reader expects a piece of discourse to make a communicative whole, he is prepared to interpret each sentence theme in a way which makes it relevant for the discourse topic and thus satisfies the criterion of topicality.

In the previous discussion we have taken up cases where the sentence themes of successive sentences satisfy both the criterion of position and that of givenness. Such cases may also satisfy the criterion of topicality, as seen in example (7):

> (7) *Seasonings* cannot penetrate meat any more than can salt. *The flavor of garlic* slipped into meat is not distributed, and someone invariably gets the garlic into his mouth. *Onions, peppers, and celery* quickly overcook and their flavor become (sic) stale. AD 25

In those cases where the subject fails to satisfy the criterion of givenness, it is similarly athematic from the point of view of the criterion of topicality, as in the following examples:

> (18) It is fortunate for Helen that she had a ferocious ego of her own... JI 182
> (22) We have seen, then, that a community's verbal repertoire may encompass... PT 124

Cases of the type *it is fortunate that* can be called "non-topical material" (Lautamatti 1978:74 f). The subject of a non-topical clause only satisfies the criterion of topicality on the level of the clause, if at all, but on the level of discourse it gives no idea about the nature of the discourse topic or subtopic. This kind of subject belongs to statements, questions, etc., which are used to structure the text, to indicate the truthvalue of the asserted facts, to bring forward the writer's opinion, or to comment on the language or structuring of the text. The distinction between topical material, i.e., material which is related to the discourse (sub) topic, and non-topical material seems essential if we wish to analyse the relationships between text-sentences and the whole text. Analysis of the clause theme without consideration of higher units of discourse does not carry far in discourse analysis. Keeping apart topical and non-topical material then means that those parts of sentence or text that are non-topical can be dismissed from the analysis as irrelevant to the thematic development. They are athematic on the level of discourse.

The following example will illustrate the interplay of topical and non-topical material in an informative text and the irrelevance of non-topical subjects for the thematic development of the discourse topic. Non-topical material has been bracketed:

> (23) If contact between the speakers of the dominant language and the others is minimal, the imperfectly learned dominant language is used as lingua franca among the non-dominant groups. [it is not difficult to see how] *a pidgin* might arise... Moreover, [it is possible that] *certain universal processes* of simplification may play a part in the formation of pidgins. [We shall discuss this last point briefly below]
>
> [It is important to realise that] *pidgins*, although rather different from other languages, are really different in degree than in kind. *They* are genuine languages with structure and most of the attributes of other languages.
> PT 168

As this example shows, the sentence themes, as defined earlier, form a sequence of references, which is carried on independently of the non-topical material. The themes of the non-topical clauses (*it*, *it*, *we*, *It*), on the other hand, show no such development among themselves. They are also, typically, non-cohesive, and often impersonal. Extracted from the discourse they, unlike the themes of the topical sentences, give no indication of the discourse topic of the text.

Non-topical material may also appear in the form of complete sentences, or in a sentence structure where no topical subject exists, as in the following:

> (24) [In the following chapter we shall examine] some of *the complex inter-relationships* between language and society of which subjective attitudes are just one facet. *These inter-relationships* take many forms. In most cases [we shall be dealing with] *the covariation* of linguistic and social phenomena. In some cases, however, [it makes more sense to consider that] *the relationship* is in one direction only.
> PT 24

Here the continuity of reference is carried from the object of the main clause of the first sentence to the subject (sentence theme) of the second sentence and then from the prepositional object of the third sentence to the subject of the subclause (sentence theme) of the last sentence. All these have been underlined for clarity. As such, however, they create the same kind of succession of references as observed earlier in regular types of sentence themes. As far as the criteria of givenness and topicality are concerned, these subjects and objects, therefore can be considered as candidates for sentence themes. They also have the initial sentence position if non-topical material is excluded.

There are different types of non-topical material. Clauses like *in the following chapter we shall examine* in (24) and *we shall discuss this last point briefly below* in (23) are examples of the use of metatext. The following case also represents a type frequent in informative discourse:

(25) [We have seen, then, that] *a community's verbal repertoire* may encompass... PT 124

The clause makes a reference to the source of the information presented. Like (26), we could characterise it as a modality marker, since it suggests the truth-value of the ideas discussed:

(26) *Teachers*, [one would think] cannot afford to ignore this kind of attitude (...) PT 101

Not very dissimilar are the cases where then non-topical material serves to help the processing of the information or to adjust the reader's focus:

(27) [This suggests, further, that] *this particular social* group may be instrumental in introducing... PT 114
(28) [The problem is- however, that] between these two extremes ... there is *a whole range of intermediate points*... PT 174

Thus, the application of the positional criterion results in a number of cases which satisfy neither the criterion of givenness nor that of topicality. Application of the criterion of givenness in addition to that of position results in the exclusion, as candidates for the sentence theme, of certain grammatical structures where the subject is a dummy, or the like. Apart form these, the problem with this criterion is that it is, perhaps, often satisfied by quite a number of items in a sentence. - Last of all, the criterion of topicality makes possible the division into topical vs. non-topical textual material.

There are, however, cases where we have a hierarchy of topicality rather than a clear-cut distinction between topical and non-topical material. This is particularly the case in two types of development of the discourse topic. First, there are cases where a personal pronoun like *we* is used differently from its use in non-topical material, as in (25). Example (29) illustrates a topical use of a personal pronoun:

> (29) *The relationship* is obvious - but what exactly is the value of this kind of information? First, *it* shows precisely what sort of information we are working with when we assign social status to a speaker on the basis of linguistic evidence. Through our linguistic evidence *we* have become sensitive, normally subconsciously, to correlations of this type between social class and standard or local linguistic forms. PT 44

Here, instead of abstract notions such as "sensitivity to social status", the information is presented in the form of a structure which consists of a human agent and a copula. Undoubtedly this is also a way of facilitating the intake of information by the reader. However, the way in which the predications are presented in the form of syntactic structures makes the distinction between topical and non-topical material arbitrary here.

The second type is one where the discussion shifts from the actual subject-matter to the scientific framework within which the information is presented. In this type, whole consecutive sentences may represent the topic of scientific theory:

> (30) ...*he* will probably use the kind of language associated with men of this type. '*Kinds of language*' of this sort are often referred to as dialects, the first type in this being a regional dialect and the second a social dialect. *The term dialect* is a familiar one... PT 14
>
> (31) The 'dialectologist' view recognises that there are differences between BEV and white speech but claims, nevertheless, that BEV has been historically derived from English dialects. This view is popular with some American dialectologists, who suggest that the differences are due to a different combination of British dialect features... They point out that it would be surprising in view of the cultural division in America between whites and blacks, if their speech had not developed differently. They suggest, is particular, that the development of the urban ghetto and of barriers of communication imposed by poverty and deprivation have been instrumental in their development. Characteristics of white and black speech were originally the same, but have been 'skewed' by the colour-caste system. PT 74

Here the differences between black and white American English are discussed as perceived through the filter of sociolinguistic thinking. We could treat cases of this sort as representing a hierarchy of topicality, since the primary material and the scientific concepts imposed on it are both equally topical. Hierarchies of this kind need not be typical of informative texts alone. It is possible that they occur, though in a different form, in, say, fiction, where the filter could be, for instance, the human mind, through which a sequence of events is perceived. From the point of view of thematic analysis of discourse this means that we have to follow a double sequence of references, expressed in various grammatical guises. The question relevant to this paper now is: do we also have, in cases like this, a hierarchy of sentence themes? Do we have a primary sequence of sentence themes, expressed in the passage above by the following string of subjects: *differences...the differences...their speech...the development of...characteristics of*? Notice that in the last sentence the hierarchy of topicality is implicit and must be supplied on the basis of the preceding context. And do we then have another string of sentence themes representing the secondary discourse topic in the form of the following subjects: *the 'dialectologist' view...this view...they ...they*? In both cases the subjects satisfy the positional criterion as far as their clauses are concerned, the criterion of givenness and that of topicality. It seemes that further research is called for into the hierarchy of topicality in discourse and its relevance to the thematic development of discourse. Another interesting direction would be examination of the different patterns of thematic development in different types of texts, e.g., in different literary genres.

DISCUSSION

This paper investigates the thematic properties of the English subject. For this purpose we have used three criteria of the theme, those of position, givenness and topicality. The main purpose of this investigation has been to find out whether it is possible to arrive at the concept of sentence theme in a way which would make it relevant for discourse analysis. This means that the sentence theme would function as a bridge between the topic of conversation (or discourse topic) of the whole text and the sentences of the text.

In cases where the authentic text consists of a string of simple sentences, the subjects of these sentences fulfil all the three criteria, and can thus be defined as sentence themes. This, however, is not always the case. Problems in applying the positional criterion arise when we are dealing with complex sentences with an initial subclause or sentence adjunct. In this paper, the subject of the main clause, structurally the primary subject, is considered the sentence theme in cases of this kind, provided it satisfies the criteria of givenness and topicality. Further, the initial subject may not satisfy the criterion of givenness, as is the case with purely formal subjects such as *there* or *it*, or it may fail to meet the criterion of topicality, as with non-topical subjects of the metalinguistic or modal kind. The criterion of givenness, it was observed, must be interpreted widely.

The givenness of a new referent need not be based on the identity or partial identity of reference. It may well be based on semantic relations of opposition, part-to-whole, supplementation, etc., and, what is more important, on pragmatic knowledge of how the relationships of events, states and objects are generally perceived and structured.

If, in defining the sentence theme, the initial position in the sentence is made the principal criterion, we get a great variety of sentence themes such as different types of subjects, including dummy constructions, adjuncts, metatextual or metalinguistic markers, modality markers, etc. Obviously, then, in a longer piece of discourse these sentence themes do not necessarily satisfy the criteria of givenness and topicality. If, on the other hand, the criteria of givenness and topicality are considered equally important for the discoursal sentence theme, we get another kind of thematic structure. Non-topical material is then excluded as athematic and only those subjects or objects which form sequences of references relevant to the discourse (sub)topic are included. In other words, only a simultaneous application of all three criteria, with priority given to the criterion of topicality, results in a concept of sentence theme which relates an individual sentence to the discourse topic. Naturally, this does not mean that non-topical material or such grammatical choices which result in non-thematic subjects are irrelevant to discourse analysis as a whole: the interplay of topical and non-topical material is a most interesting subject of study.

Naturally the observations made here will have to be verified by applying the concepts used to larger stretches of discourse. It may also help to analyse the thematic development in different types of texts, such as informative, argumentative, narrative, etc. or to compare the sentence themes of an English text to a Finnish translation, where, perhaps, the use of different structural means of marking the theme might throw new light on the thematic structure of the original English text. This paper is an attempt to pave way for such analyses.

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NOTES ON THE STRUCTURE OF ENGLISH EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE UNITS

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This paper is a tentative attempt to integrate some insights of the tagmemic school of linguistics into the description of English discourse. As regards the study of text and discourse, it would seem that, so far, tagmemic theory has not, perhaps, been adequately exploited - at least by those who do not profess themselves to be tagmemicists. One reason for this partial neglect is, certainly, that there have been other linguistic theories (eg. the various generative grammars and Halliday's Systemic Grammar in Britain) which have, to a far greater extent than tagmemics, attracted the attention of students of discourse analysis and text linguistics.

Among the exponents of tagmemics there are two scholars, in particular, who in the opinion of this writer would deserve to be far more widely acknowledged, namely R.E. Longacre and Joseph E. Grimes. Both scholars have, among other things, been much concerned with discourse as an important level of linguistic analysis. Both have also produced systematic accounts of the results of their study. Owing to the common orientation, their accounts are similar in the essentials. However, there are also some differences, though most of them, no doubt, mere matters of different terminology or different emphasis. In the present paper somewhat more space is accorded to Longacre, but this is the result of arbitrary decision rather than conscious choice. In this connection it must be emphasized that this writer by no means claims to be an authority on the intricacies of tagmemics; a brief and eclectic survey is all that is offered here.

Apart from the survey, this paper also contains some amount of criticism as well as a fair measure of independent research by the writer.

Longacre (1976) and Grimes (1975) make a distinction between deep structure and surface structure. Deep structure is semantic (or 'notional'), while surface structure is syntactic (or 'grammatical'). Surface structure is described in terms of a hierarchy of levels, namely:

DISCOURSE, PARAGRAPH, SENTENCE, CLAUSE, PHRASE, WORD, STEM, MORPHEME

As for the levels of deep structure only two need concern us here: PREDICATION and COMBINATION OF PREDICATIONS, or COMBINATION, for short. These are the terms used by Longacre. In Grimes they correspond, at least in part, to LEXICAL PROPOSITION and RHETORICAL PROPOSITION.

Predication (or lexical proposition) is the deep structure that underlies the surface structure clause. Combination is the deep structure that underlies the surface structure sentence and paragraph.

Predications and their combinations are PROPOSITIONAL structures. They consist of some abstract predicate which expresses a particular semantic relation among two or more arguments. In the predication the semantic relation assigns a specific ROLE (or function) to each of the arguments. These semantic roles (the "deep cases") are known by such names as eg. Agent, Patient, Instrument, Force, Experiencer, Goal and Range (cf. Longacre 1976, Grimes 1975, and Dik 1978).

This paper is concerned with combinations and their surface structure realization in English expository discourse. In the combination (or rhetorical proposition) the arguments are themselves predications (or combinations). Moreover, their relationship is other than via semantic roles.

In this paper, such surface structures as paragraph, sentence and clause are referred to as DISCOURSE UNITS. This term is not found in either Longacre or Grimes. Another difference is that this writer recognizes discourse units which are intermediate between discourse and paragraph, on the one hand, and paragraph and sentence, on the other. Thus it is suggested, for instance, that there are discourse units of either one sentence or two or more successive sentences WITHIN the same paragraph.

At this point it will be convenient to clarify the notion of expository discourse unit by means of an illustration. The discourse below is a brief report on a new technical process (*Newsweek*, Nov. 21, 1977, p. 2):

Blended Light

> In candescent lamps produce what is considered the most suitable light for store merchandise displays. But lamps of this type are the least energy efficient. Using a hexagonal optical chamber, Specified Products, Inc., of Milwaukee, Wis., has developed a way of blending light from two energy-efficient lamps to achieve a color balance similar to incandescent light, but at a greater efficiency. The SPI fixtures project light from a metal-halide lamp and a highpressure sodium lamp upward, and spread it across the ceiling. When the light is reflected back to the merchandise display, it has a color temperature appropriate for store environments. Since both lamps used in the SPI fixtures are high-intensity discharge types, the lighting system is said to be five times more efficient than systems with fluorescent lamps. The indirect projection of light from the optical chamber eliminates the distracting shadows and color mixtures usually created when different types of lamp are used together.

This is expository discourse - it seeks simply to EXPLAIN a certain subject matter. In this case the whole discourse consists of a single paragraph. If we now start looking for the smaller discourse units that constitute the paragraph, tagmemics would instruct us directly to the sentence. However, it is obvious to anyone who can read the above text with comprehension that it contains units INTERMEDIATE between the paragraph and the sentences. The pattern, in fact, appears to be somewhat as follows:

Unit 1 sentences one and two: statement of the `problem´.

Unit 2 sentence three: report of the `solution´.

Unit 3 sentences four and five: specification of the process.

Unit 4 sentences six and seven: additional information.

The `problem´ in this case is the low energy-efficiency of incandescent lamps. It goes without saying that Units 1 and 2, as well as Units 3 and 4, respectively, form larger discourse units within the paragraph. Most similar reports (in *Newsweek*) seem to conform to the above pattern.

A systematic discussion of the combinations (or rhetorical propositions) will now follow.

In Longacre 1976:158, combinations divide into two principal categories: BASIC versus ELABORATED. Each is further divided into 'sequential' and 'non-sequential' combinations. COUPLING, a variety of CONJOINING, is a basic non-sequential relation. OVERLAP, a variety of TEMPORAL, is a basic sequential structure.

Grimes has a different classification. His rhetorical propositions - most of which correspond to some combination - divide into three main types: PARATACTIC, HYPOTACTIC and NEUTRAL. These will require some comment.

First, paratactic propositions. The PREDICATES in these dominate all their ARGUMENTS in coordinate fashion, ie. the arguments (themselves propositions) are related on an equal basis. According to Grimes, there are only two truly paratactic predicates. One of these is termed RESPONSE. Response is the deep structure that underlies QUESTION/ANSWER and REMARK/RESPONSE sequences in dialogue. However, the same relation can also underlie discourse units in expository prose. Thus in the above extract from *Newsweek* the larger Unit consisting of Units 1 and 2 is underlain by a variety of the response structure that may be called PROBLEM/SOLUTION.

Hypotactic propositions, by contrast, have as one of their arguments, the 'centre', ie. a dominant proposition to which some other proposition is subordinated, by being added to it as an extra argument. Consider:

He went away; I saw him go away.

This sentence consists of two clauses. Each clause is underlain by a lexical proposition (ie. predication). The proposition underlying clause one is the centre, or the dominant proposition; while the proposition underlying the second clause is subordinated to the centre. The two propositions are combined by a hypotactic rhetorical predicate called EVIDENCE: *I saw him go away* is evidence that *he went away*.

Neutral rhetorical propositions are so called because they can assume either paratactic or hypotactic form, depending on the context. Sometimes neutral predicates relate subordinate propositions to other propositions that dominate them (hypotaxis); at other times they relate two or more propositions on an equal basis (parataxis). REASON/RESULT, a variety of COVARIANCE, is a neutral rhetorical predicate. Consider:

> George eats garlic. Nancy therefore avoids him.

This statement consists of two sentences. The first expresses the reason why Nancy avoids George. Alternatively, the second sentence expresses the result (or consequence) of the fact that George eats garlic. In this case the two halves of the utterance are related in coordinate fashion.

However, the speaker can assume a different perspective. Instead of starting from the fact that George eats garlic the speaker can start from the fact that Nancy avoids George. Such a change of perspective (or `staging') will depend on the context. Consider:

> Nancy avoids George, because he eats garlic.

Here the result dominates and the reason comes second. in the subordinate clause, the covariance has assumed a hypotactic form.

The different classifications of Longacre and Grimes complement each other. Longacre contributes the insight that some deep structures are more basic than others; Grimes adds the realization that some combinations involve parataxis while others depend on hypotaxis. Both focus on those semantic notions that underlie discourse units in a natural language, such as English.

It is important to notice that a similar notional structure can underlie a sentence, or a paragraph, or some other discourse unit intermediate between the two. For instance, Longacre has a combination called CONTRAST (a variety of conjoining). In the example below, contrast is encoded first within a sentence, then within an intermediate discourse unit of two conjoined sentences within a paragraph:

> After adaptation to a smell no effort of mind can enable us to smell it, but with the ticking of a clock an effort of attention will enable us again to hear it.

This specifies a DIFFERENCE between two forms of awareness.

> The Andean peoples concentrated on the material technique of supporting life; the Middle American on spiritual, or more accurately, supernatural methods.

The contrast relation can combine two expository paragraphs, as in the next example:

> The Andean peoples concentrated on the material technique of supporting life; the Middle American on spiritual, or more accurately, supernatural methods. In the Andes, especially in the coastal valleys of Peru, enormous cities were built and vast irrigation systems watered the fields. This civilization culminated in the Inca Empire, unique in American annals as the only governmental system which combined territorial expansion with the amalgamation of conquered peoples into a social whole.
>
> The Middle Americans, on the contrary, lived in independent tribal groups and created a religious art and architecture without rival in the Americas. The ceremonial aspect of life dominated the civil structure and the remains of temples, not cities, gauge the splendour of the past.
>
> (From George Pendle, *A History of Latin America*, Penguin 1973, p. 22.)

In general, contrast includes deep structure *but* relations. Characteristically, it involves an opposition of two different states of affairs. The opposition may be MARKED in surface structure (eg. by *but*, *whereas*, *while*, *by contrast*, or a punctuation mark). It may also be implicit, as in the next example:

> Rudolf Bahro is an East German. Leszek Kolakowski is a Pole. Both have recently produced books, shaped by their experiences in Eastern Europe over the last decades. But there the similarity ends. For Bahro, a Marxist militant, is locked up in an East German prison, Kolakowski is a Fellow of All Souls College in Oxford. Bahro has to smuggle messages to his readers. Kolakowski rubs shoulders with Henry Kissinger in the pages of Encounter.
>
> (*Books and Bookmen*, May 1979, p. 34.)

This passage shows how contrast (here between the different fortunes of two famous Marxists) can be used for the literary purpose of IRONY.

A second variety of conjoining is coupling. This includes deep structure NON-TEMPORAL *and* relations. The following exemplifies coupling between two intermediate discourse units within a paragraph (Pendle, p. 27):

> The language of the Spanish-speaking republics of Latin America contains many such reminders of the Moslems' long stay in Spain.

> And the influence was transmitted in other ways. The Moslems' study and teaching of the medical properties of plants stimulated the Spaniards' interest in the herbs and drugs they discovered in the New World. The Spaniards learned from the Moslems to hide their women behind walls and shutters, and this habit continued overseas. The Moslems left a permanent mark on the folk arts of southern Spain, whose music and dances were later taken across the Atlantic to become a part of the Latin American cultural tradition.

The coupled discourse units consist, of course, of sentence one and the rest of the paragraph, respectively. The basic content of the paragraph might be condensed to a coupled sentence, eg.

> The Moslem influence in Latin America was transmitted not only by language but also in other ways, such as by medicine, morals and the folk arts.

Coupling forms an essential basis for exposition. An expository paragraph frequently opens with a TOPIC SENTENCE, indicating the subject matter, and this may then be elaborated within a sequence of coupled discourse units. Here is another example:

> Strong evidence supports Chomsky's view. Only human children learn to speak, thus indicating that some sort of blueprint for language must be transmitted from generation to generation in our species. And human children everywhere develop a language without instruction, unless they are isolated as 'wolf children' during the critical acquisition years or unless they suffer from extreme mental deficiency.
>
> (Peter Farb, *Word Play*, Coronet 1977, p. 224.)

The topic sentence is succeeded by two coupled statements, reporting evidence in support of a theory. In the statements, there is reiteration of syntactic structure (a sign of the coordination): *Human children learn to speak/Human children everywhere develop a language*. In Grimes' terms, the coordinated units - ie. sentences two and three - are, in turn, SUBORDINATED to the topic sentence.

In Longacre, the third variety of conjoining is COMPARISON. Somewhat arbitrarily, Longacre restricts comparison to single sentences, of the kind that have two closely associated clauses and an adjective (or adverb) which is inflected for comparison, eg.

> The Spaniards began much earlier than the English (did).

Arguably, however, English allows comparison even on the paragraph level. The following may be a case in point (Pendle, p. 51):

> In the Americas the Spanish conquistadores straight away spread out over an area about twice the size of Europe and founded widely-separated centres of civilization. The English - who were colonists, not conquerors - made homes for themselves on the nearest fringe of the Atlantic Coast, the land between the Allegheny mountains long remaining unknown to them. It was only gradually that the colonists in North America pushed the frontier 'from tidewater to up-country', until at last in the nineteenth century settlement was carried as far as the Pacific.

This passage divides into two larger discourse units, consisting of sentence one and sentences two and three, respectively. These two units would seem to be related by means of the comparison relation (unless it is analyzed as contrast). What is being compared are the Spanish settlement of Middle and South Americas - by rapid conquest - and the English occupation of North America - by gradual colonization. The comparison has a specific point: its purpose is to bring out, as forcefully as possible, the special characteristics of the Spanish occupation.

Conjoining, the first of the deep structures of discourse in Longacre's system, has now been dealt with - albeit too briefly. Howeever, it is not the endeavour of this paper to go deeply into the matter. We will continue the survey with another basic 'non-sequential' combination, namely ALTERNATION.

Alternation includes deep structure *or* relations. In English, it may be encoded at various levels of surface structure, from the sentence through intermediate units to the paragraph. In the next example, which is the beginning of a paragraph, there is alternation encoded in sentence two:

> The Chinese are also pressed for time. They believe they must put their frail relations with the Soviet Union on a new footing while Mr Brezhnev still lives, or at least be on speaking terms with the Russians before he dies.
>
> (From *The Observer*, Sunday, 10 June, 1979, p. 8.)

The writer is speculating about the motives the Chinese may have for wanting to normalize their relations with the Soviet Union. In sentence one, the topic sentence, one possible motive is stated briefly and in general terms. This is elaborated upon in sentence two. Notice that the alternative encoded in the second clause of sentence two, ie.

> The Chinese believe they must at least be on speaking terms with the Russians before Mr Breznnev dies

represents a weaker formulation than the alternative encoded in the first clause, thus referring to a more modest aim on the part of the Chinese.

It is convenient to note, at this point, that there is in Grimes (1975:210) a (paratactic) rhetorical predicate called ALTERNATIVE. In his words, this is a predicate that offers a choice of this, or this, or that, in the sense that as soon as one is chosen no further choices are possible. Thus, to take an example with just two alternatives, a speaker might suggest:

> We can meet this afternoon, or we can discuss the matter at dinner.

This would normally imply that, for the speaker, both arrangements are equally acceptable and the addressee is free to choose. The speaker may, of course, have his own preference, but it is not considered polite for him to reveal it, unless he is requested to do so by his interlocutor.

The previous examples indicate that alternative states of affairs, courses of action, and so on, are frequently entertained in discourse in the presence of a degree of uncertainty. When we know, we assert with confidence; when we are uncertain, we speculate or conjecture. When we have the authority to do so, we issue a categorical command, but when politeness is to be observed, as is most often the case, we seek a formulation that will give our interlocutor the freedom to choose.

Obviously it is possible in English to express alternation on supra-sentential levels. In paragraphs, for instance, the word *alternatively* is sometimes found in medial position, indicating, more emphatically than *or*, that there is an underlying alternation relation.

After conjoining and alternation we come to those basic "deep structures of discourse" that are said to be sequential, namely temporal and IMPLICATION. We will first consider the temporal relations, overlap and SUCCESSION (Longacre 1976:114).

Overlap includes deep structure *meanwhile* and *at the same time* relations. The following is a simple sentence-level example:

He listened amiably while I told him about the film.

Since it is a temporal relation, overlap is, of course, more a feature of narrative than expository discourse, although an exposition can include narrative units, and vice versa. In the following paragraph beginning, for instance, sentence two is expository (more accurately, explanatory) while the next sentence is narrative, expressing overlap:

> Hector and Alphonse persuaded me that without a ride on the Matterhorn my life would be incomplete. The Matterhorn is a high-speed switchback that loops around an artificial mountain. Strapped into a drop-tank capsule I tried to think of other things, while the G-force successively pushed my head through my collar-bone, pulled it out again, and turned it back to front.
>
> (From *The Observer*, Sunday, 10 June, 1979, p. 34.)

When it is inserted into a narrative context, an expository discourse unit (like sentence two above) tends to convey what may be termed BACKGROUND. Conversely, a narrative unit embedded in exposition frequently functions as a ILLUSTRATION, serving, for instance, to justify a point in an argument.

The extract from *The Observer* also provides an example of succession, which is a deep structure *and then* relation - and thus the temporal counterpart of coupling. Consider, again, the end of the extract:

> the G-force successively pushed my head through my collar-bone, pulled it out again, and turned it back to front

The three "events" described in this surface structure are combined through succession. Incidentally, each clause is underlain by a semantic role structure of the following kind: Force (*the G-force*) + Patient (*my head/ it*) + Path (*through my collar-bone*, *out*, *back to front*).

In this brief survey we have compared exposition with narrative, in order to bring out some special features of the former. One difference between these two modes of discourse concerns the matter of what Longacre calls LINKAGE.

It is unfortunate that the concept of linkage is nowhere explicitly defined in Longacre. However, what he seems to intend is, at least in part, covered by other terms such as "cohesion", "coherence" and ‘sequencing’. In narrative discourse linkage is said to be chronological; in exposition, logical. Chronological linkage is either HEAD - HEAD or TAIL - HEAD. In the first, the first element of one unit is linked to the first element of the next unit. In the second, it is, of course, the last element of one unit that is linked to the first element of the succeeding one.

The following illustrates head - head linkage between successive paragraphs (from *The Observer*, Sunday, 10 June, 1979, p. 41):

> When I was little I hated frocks. By dint of careful manoeuvring I managed to avoid them most of the time, except when I was caught for weddings, prize-givings and presenting bouquets at village fetes.
>
> When I grew up I still hated frocks. I loathed the ‘dolly dresses’ of the sixties and, by the time the seventies came, I had so many pairs of trousers that nothing could persuade me back into a dress.

Here the linkage between the two paragraph-initial sentences is further reinforced by the close parallelism in their syntactic form.

Next an example of tail - head linkage. Again, the linked units are two surface structure paragraphs (from *The Observer*, Sunday, 27 May, 1979, p. 33):

> Wednesday, 26 March, at his request, I came to his office for a drink in the early evening. It was not two years since I had first seen him there in a magnificence intended to impress and that, indeed, was impressive. ‘On your knees, Moynihan,’ he had said then as I entered, not quite smiling.
>
> This time he asked me to go to the United Nations. He was right to do so. His centre was giving way, his right was in retreat. It was time to attack. Kissinger said we had to stand up for ourselves, and that I understood how to do this.

In this extract, sentence one of paragraph two (*THIS TIME he asked me to go to the United Nations*) harks back - or ‘cross-references’, in Longacre’s term - to the last sentence of paragraph one (*‘On your knees, Moynihan,’ he had said THEN*).

Longacre’s concept of narrative linkage assumes that, ideally, events are always recounted in their chronological order. This assumption is made for the sake of theoretical simplicity; we know, of course, that many ‘surface structure’ stories make use of flashback, and other devices, for stylistic effect.

Expository discourse has LOGICAL linkage. This is said to operate through SENTENCE TOPICS.

In Longacre (1976) the status of sentence topic is far from clear. At one point, however, it is contrasted with CLAUSE SUBJECT. Consider the following paragraph beginning (from *Books and Bookmen*, May 1979, p. 33):

> Hastings organizes his narrative well, cutting from scenes of his hero's life and education to episodes from Israel's 'long arm' strategy. The proper culmination of these two themes is the same, for as he says Yoni was born into this life in order to lead the Entebbe Raid.

The word *Hastings* is subject in clause one - in a sense it represents what the clause is 'about'. However, SENTENCE one as a whole is about something else. It is about the organization of Hastings' narrative: the way he cuts from scenes of his hero's (ie. Yoni's) life to episodes from Israel's long arm strategy (ie. the Entebbe Raid). Thus it is the organization of the narrative which is the topic of sentence one. In sentence two the topic is 'developed' and it is now referred to as *these two themes*.

The above extract is the beginning of an expository paragraph. In such paragraphs the first sentence is often the topic sentence: it sets the topic which is then developed in the rest of the paragraph. Notice how this happens in the next example:

> The force and frequency of eruptions depend more on chemistry than geography. Volcanoes that contain thin, free-flowing lava and minuscule amounts of water erupt often - but generally cause no damage. Scientists have calmly manned a monitoring station on Hawaii's Kilauea, which bubbles up every two or three years. Volcanoes like Soufriere, filled with viscous lava, ash, gases and perhaps 5 per cent of water, behave differently. Sticky fluid builds up in the volcanic vents for decades or centuries, until a violent release spews forth ash at speeds up to 100 miles per hour.
>
> (*Newsweek*, April 30, 1979, pp. 38-39.)

In the source article, this is the sequel to a paragraph showing how the formation of volcanoes depends on geography; and how this, in turn, gives rise to different types of volcanoes. In the extract there is parallel development: the formation of volcanoes is replaced by *the force and frequency of eruptions* and *geography* is replaced by *chemistry*. Thus the topic, announced in sentence one and elaborated in the rest of the paragraph, becomes: the causal relationship between volcanic activity and chemical composition and how this gives rise to an alternative typology. Apart from the topic sentence, the theme is developed, primarily, in two successive discourse units - consisting of sentences two - three and four - five, respectively. The linkages are logical, rather than chronological. Notice, for instance, the following: in sentences two and four, respectively, *volcanoes that contain thin, free-flowing lava and minuscule amounts of water* and *volcanoes filled with viscous lava, ash, gases and perhaps 5 per cent of water* cross-reference to *chemistry*, in sentence one; *erupt often but generally cause no damage*, in sentence two, and the whole of sentence five cross-reference to the *force and frequency of eruptions*, in sentence one. Notice, moreover, how the developmental units relate to each other, and contrast, through syntactic parallelism.

After this brief review of two types of linkage, narrative and expository, we continue our discussion of predicational combinations. Apart from temporal, there is another basic sequential relation, namely implication.

Implication subsumes a number of devices, three of which are CONDITIONALITY, CONTRAFACTUALITY and CAUSATION (Longacre 1976:120-130). From the point of view of paragraph structure, causation is by far the most important; the other two will here be discussed quite briefly.

Under conditionality, a distinction is made between HYPOTHETICAL and PROPORTIONAL relations. Hypothetical simply state a relationship between an ANTECEDENT and a CONSEQUENT. The consequent does not follow, unless the condition expressed in the antecedent also holds, as in:

> If she is there, I will stay.

We are not told whether she is there or not; we are only told that my staying is conditional on her being there. In terms of illocutionary force (which is a PRAGMATIC concept, not used by Longacre), the above sentence could be a conditional promise.

In English, the hypothetical is quite frequently employed purely as a rhetorical device, to support a persuasive argument; the antecedent expresses a "condition" no rational person can afford to reject:

> If we are to be able to express other than elementary ideas, we need to do so in a language which is rich, expressive and refined.
>
> (*The Listener*, 31 May, 1979, p. 747.)

Since we certainly are to be able to express other than elementary ideas, the antecedent holds and the consequent follows.

A less rhetorical use of hypotheticals is in speculation (see above). In the next example the speculation concerns the possibilities of success of an approaching conference on the 'Boat People' (from *The Guardian*. July 22, 1979, p. 10):

> Success or failure of the two-day conference on refugees starting in Geneva on Friday depends on swift agreement as to its aims. If it is to be an international tribunal to confirm the already announced verdicts of some of the participating governments, condemning Hanoi as the guilty party, it will fail. If it turns into a slanging match as to who is responsible for the mass exodus and conditions of departure from the three states of former Indo-China, there are enough arguments form accusers and accused to bog down the conference for months to come.
>
> If it is focussed on conditions for the orderly departure, safe transport, transit and arrival arrangements for the several hundred thousand of those still to leave and the rescue of those at sea, it can succeed. A major condition of success is cooperation between the countries of departure, those of transit and those on the agreed receiving end.

This illustrates a sustained, two-paragraph exposition that is completely based on conditional statements. The topic sentence asserts the thesis in general terms. Notice that it condenses a pair of hypotheticals of the following kind:

> If the conference can reach swift agreement as to its aims, it can succeed.
>
> If it cannot reach swift agreement as to its aims, it will fail.

Each of these constituent themes are elaborated in a paragraph. Notice that the concluding sentence is a transform of something like:

> If the countries of departure, those of transit and those on the agreed receiving end will agree to cooperate, the conference can succeed; if not, it will fail.

Another variety of conditionality is proportional. While hypothetical statements are EXPLICITLY conditional, proportional statements IMPLY a set of conditional sentences. Thus, *The more* *tickets you sell, the better* implies, for instance, *If you sell ten tickets, it will be quite good, If you sell fifty tickets, it will be very good*, and so on.

In English, conditional structures are normally encoded as single sentences. Here is another surface structure, underlain by the proportional relation:

> The more intelligent and informed the society you are trying to control, the more difficult it is to do.

Ie. 'the difficulty' of controlling a society is proportional to how intelligent and informed it is'. This is one way of asserting a GENERALIZATION; a generalization, in whatever form, always implies a set of particular statements.

The next variety of implication is contrafactual. It involves a double implication. Consider:

> Had he gone, I would have gone too.

This carries the implication, firstly, that my going was to have been consequent on his going. At the same time there is a second implication, *He didn't go and because he didn't go, I didn't go either*.

The above sentence contains two clauses (*had he gone* and *I would have gone too*). These are both AFFIRMATIVE, but are understood as NEGATIVE. By contrast, in the next example the surface structure is negative in both clauses, but they are understood as expressing an affirmative:

> If he hadn't gone, I wouldn't have gone either.

Ie. 'He went so I went'.

This type of contrafactual (or counterfactual) is not, perhaps, very common in expository discourse, except as a stylistic device. The following is the opening sentence of a critical review of a production of *Cymbeline* at Stratford (from *The Listener*, 28 June, 1979, p. 888):

> If Shakespeare had not existed, the RSC would have invented him for the benefit of tourists, and won a Queen's Award for Industry.

The same sarcastic effect, based upon the contrafactual, is present in the next example (*The Listener*, 7 June, 1979, p. 768):

> If spreading the gospel had been left to the Vatican press office, most of us would still be worshipping the sun.

The implicature of this hyperbolic remark is, of course, that the Vatican press office is anything but communicative.

From the point of view of the structure of supra-sentential discourse units - paragraphs, in particular - by far the most important implicational relation is causation. According to Longacre, causation includes EFFICIENT CAUSE (or reason), FINAL CAUSE (or purpose) and a weaker sort of causation, called CIRCUMSTANCE.

In Grimes (1975:223), the above relations some under a general rhetorical predicate, covariance. This is a neutral predicate: it can assume either paratactic or hypotactic form, depending on the context.

In the following, causation will be discussed, solely, with reference to realization at the paragraph level.

We will look, first, at some examples of the encoding of efficient cause (or reason) within a paragraph. In the following, the cause of the state of affairs described in sentence one is given in sentence three (from *Newsweek*, April 30, 1979, p. 34):

> The Getty Oil Co. had been pumping petroleum out of Kern River field since 1928, but by the mid-1960s, production had declined to just 15,000 barrels of oil a day. It wasn't that Kern River had dried up: plenty of oil was left in the reservoir. But it was tightly trapped in rock pores, and natural pressure within the earth was no longer high enough to force it out. So Getty decided to try a new technique, setting up generators in part of the field and injecting steam into the reservoir. The steam heated the trapped oil, making it much more fluid, and forced it to flow toward production wells. By last December, Getty had 128 steam generators in place - and had boosted production to 70,000 barrels of oil a day.

Notice how, in sentence two, the explanation that first comes to mind is emphatically dismissed: *It wasn't that Kern River had dried up.* After the sentence giving the true reason, the rest of the paragraph illustrates a 'causal chain': *So Getty decided to try a new technique... injecting steam into the reservoir*; *The steam heated the trapped oil... and forced it to flow toward production wells*; (AS A RESULT) *by last December Getty had boosted production to 70,000 barrels.*

In the source article, the above-quoted paragraph serves as an example of a technique of 'enhanced oil recovery'. Thus the emphasis is heavily on the last few sentences - ie. on those that describe the technique used. Relative to this unit, the beginning of the paragraph eventually appears as less important, since it merely sums up the circumstances that led to the invention of the new, enhanced technique

As the previous extract shows, a reason sentence may be succeeded by a series of sentences expressing a 'chain' of RESULTS, or CONSEQUENCES. In the next example, however, there is only a result unit, consisting of the two concluding sentences of the paragraph. Notice that, in this case, the result is marked by the phrase *in consequence*:

> With the achievements of Balboa and Magellan, the purely exploratory era ended. From the Indians whom they had met on the islands and the coasts, the Spaniards had heard of fabulous treasure - gold and precious gems - stored in the highlands of Mexico, Colombia, Peru. In consequence, the New World ceased to be an obstruction; it became, instead, a world to be plundered. After the year 1520, explorers were also conquistadores.
>
> (Pendle, pp. 36-37.)

By exposing the causal relationship between the rumours of *fabulous treasure* and the emergence of the *conquistadores*, this paragraph explains why, after 1520, *the purely exploratory era* ended.

The following also illustrates a reason/result - or cause/effect - relationship, underlying an expository paragraph (from Pendle, p. 67):

> The Bourbons' realistic trading innovations had a similar effect. During the eighteenth century, the Crown gradually loosened the rigid controls on commerce, until finally all of the American lands were entitled to trade with one another, and directly with a number of approved ports in the mother country. Spanish merchantmen, instead of being obliged to discharge their cargo at Porto Bello, were allowed to sail by Cape Horn to Chile and Peru. Shipping multiplied, and in the decade 1778-88 Spain's trade with the Americas is said to have expanded by as much as 700 per cent.

The content of the topic sentence (discourse unit 1) is here elaborated as follows: sentences two and three (discourse unit 2) specify *the Bourbons' realistic trading innovations*. Notice how this is first narrowed down to *the Crown gradually loosened the rigid controls on commerce*, next to *all of the American lands were entitled to trade with one another and directly with a number of approved ports in the mother country*, and finally to *Spanish merchantmen were allowed to sail by Cape Horn to Chile and Peru*. At the end of the paragraph, sentence four (discourse unit 3) encodes the *effect* of the trading innovations: (AS A RESULT), *shipping multiplied*, and so on.

It seems to be a characteristic of the result 'slot' that it tends to gravitate towards the end of the paragraph, so that it is often the final sentence that expresses the 'logical conclusion' of some course of events. Consider:

> The Hungarians were the first to break the jeans curtain by going into partnership with Levi Strauss. The factory in Hungary opened last year, and could sell infinitely more than it is able to produce. Part of its output is reserved for export, and less than half is sold in Hungary itself. Hungarians with their jeans have become the focus of great envy elsewhere in the Communist bloc.
>
> (*The Guardian*, July 22, 1979, p. 9.)

As a result of the fact that *they were the first to break the jeans curtain*, *Hungarians have become the focus of envy* among their East European neighbours. In English, it is common to find the verb *become* in the result sentence, as surface exponent of the predicate of an underlying lexical proposition.

There are two other varieties of causation to be considered, namely final cause (or purpose) and the weaker sort of causation that Longacre calls circumstance.

We have already mentioned that in Grimes (1975) purpose (like reason and condition) are subsumed under a neutral rhetorical predicate called covariance. In English, sentences encoding purpose may take forms like the following:

> George eats garlic in order to avoid Nancy.
>
> George eats garlic so that Nancy will avoid him.

Other terms that describe the purpose relation would be, for instance, AIM, GOAL and OBJECTIVE (as long as we keep these apart from those semantic roles, or cases, which are sometimes referred to as Goal and Objective). Like reason and result, aim may be expressed at the paragraph level (*Newsweek*, April 30, 1979, p. 48):

> The distinctive disco sound emerges during the post-production 'mixing' or balancing of tracks. Since every song uses similar strings and percussion, the trick is to find some sonic 'hook' that will galvanize dancers on the floor. Disco mixers such as Boston's John Luongo, an engineer and veteran deejay, weave the

> wallop of tom-toms and timbals, finger cymbals, tambourines and whistles into the mosaic. 'The whole goal is that you must not only hear the sound, but feel it,' he says.

Here the aim, or purpose, of the '*mixing*' is first encoded in sentence two: *the trick is to find some sonic 'hook' that will galvanise dancers on the floor*; and the same notion is paraphrased in the quotation of the final sentence: '*The whole goal is that you must not only hear the sound, but feel it.*'

Circumstance is a deep structure that indicates *in the circumstances that...* In English, such surface expressions as *In view of the fact that*, *in that* and *since* are used to convey the meaning of circumstance, ie. the meaning of something that is not quite as strongly put as efficient cause.

It appears to this writer that English (as well as many other natural languages) allow circumstance to be encoded in discourse units larger than the sentence. In the following paragraph beginning, for instance, sentence two may, perhaps, express circumstance in relation to sentence one (from Pendle, p. 65):

> The Mexicans had a special opportunity to engage in illicit trade. In addition to the official connexion with the mother country through Vera Cruz, Mexico traded with the Spanish colony of the Philippine Islands which were administered from Mexico.

The writer explains why the Mexicans engaged in *illicit trade*; he shows that they had *a special opportunity* to do so. Sentence two specifies what it was, exactly, that constituted the special opportunity: the fact that the Mexicans were able to trade with the Philippine Islands - and smuggle in Chinese fabrics, unprevented by the Spanish authorities. This fact did not, of course, CAUSE the contraband; but it constituted an opportunity (which in fact was utilized) and so it can be used in explaining the smuggling.

We have now dealt with the BASIC predicational combinations - following, in the main, the classification presented in Longacre (1976.) In this brief survey we have discussed and illustrated conjoining, alternation, temporal and implication - with their various sub-types. In addition to these 'deep structures of discourse' there are others which, in contrast to the former, are referred to as ELABORATED. In Longacre, it is only the elaborated relations that are called 'rhetorical', for their function is not only to ORGANIZE the content of discourse, but also to EMBELLISH it.

Not all of the elaborated combinations will be discussed in this paper; we will focus only on those relations Longacre calls 'non-sequential' elaborated structures. These divide into two principal categories: PARAPHRASE and ILLUSTRATION.

Paraphrase relations come about, because sometimes a speaker (or writer) feels that to say something only once is not sufficient and that he needs to say it twice or more in different words. In Longacre (1976: 133-137) the following types of paraphrase are distinguished: EQUIVALENCE, NEGATED ANTONYM, GENERIC - SPECIFIC, AMPLIFICATION and SUMMARY.

Equivalence and negated antonym do not perceptibly involve either addition or loss of information, while the other paraphrases (with the possible exception of summary) involve an increase of information.

According to Longacre, paraphrase is one of the main devices of paragraph development in expository discourse. He thinks that all the different types of paraphrase are identifiable on the paragraph as well as the sentence level. However, on the paragraph level, the varieties of paraphrase are not as clear, or as close, as those encountered on the sentence level. This is consonant with the difference between paragraph and sentence as levels of surface structure: the former is more loose and rambling than the latter.

It is noteworthy that Longacre regards paraphrase as a deep structure. Against this it can, of course, be argued that in the most profound structure everything is said but once, and that saying the same thing more than once is essentially a surface structure phenomenon. This controversy will not, however, be pursued in the present paper.

In the survey that follows the focus will be on the varieties of paraphrase as encoded in English discourse units larger than the single sentence. Like the first part of this paper, this latter part also contains a number of suggestions of this writer and it is emphasized, once again, that these are, in most cases, highly tentative, requiring a great deal of additional analysis and substantiation.

Equivalence, the first paraphrase relation, is not to be confused with SIMPLE IDENTITY. Thus, if we have an expression such as *I won't do it, I won't do it, I won't do it!*, what is intended is very probably not paraphrase but simply repetition for the sake of emphasis. By contrast, the following is an example of equivalence (at the sentence level):

> He capitulated immediately; he surrendered on the spot.

The same cognitive content is conveyed twice, although in different words. The phrases *capitulate immediately* and *surrender on the spot* are CLOSE synonyms.

As for Grimes, he has a (hypotactic) rhetorical predicate, termed EQUIVALENT, which resembles Longacre's equivalence. The following is one of Grimes's own examples (1975:215):

> We planned to leave on May 1, the day of the spring celebrations.

In this sentence clause one expounds the dominant proposition, or centre, while clause two is the exponent of the subordinate predication. The phrases *May 1* and *the day of the spring celebrations* are referentially equivalent. In this equivalent relationship information is not added but simply restated.

Incidentally, apart from the feature of hypotaxis, the equivalent relation also has the feature of SYMMETRY: either member could be used to establish the reference and which is dominant and which subordinate seems to depend entirely on the kind of STAGING (or perspective) the speaker wishes to impose on what he says. If it is the calendar date that is important, *May 1* dominates; if it is the social significance of the day, then we can say *we planned to leave on the day of spring celebrations, May 1*.

All the previous examples of equivalence are based on close synonymity. However, it may also be necessary to allow even such cases where the synonymity is less close, especially on supra-sentential levels. Thus, arguably at least, the two extracts below illustrate equivalence:

> He sand loudly and with true ecstatic energy, and seemed happy that he had finished his course, that he had run his race, and that he was shortly to arrive at the goal.
>
> It was a prelude to the hymns of saints. It was an overture to the choir of Heaven. It was a chant for the response of angels.
>
> (From James Sutherland, ed. *The Oxford Book of Literary Anecdotes*,

Futura 1977, p. 165.)

As these examples show equivalence is, typically, a feature of LITERARY, ELEVATED or RHETORICAL language (Leech and Svartvik 1975:27). Such language seeks to express emotions and attitudes, and rouse similar feelings in the receiver, rather than convey cognitive content.

Since equivalence is, typically, more at home in expressive than informative speech acts, it is not a frequent feature of expository discourse - the kind of discourse, that is, which seeks to EXPLAIN a particular subject matter. What function would it serve in such discourse? *A priori*, it would appear to arrest, rather than promote, the development of a given theme. This line of reasoning, in fact, may provide an answer to our question. At certain intervals, an expositor must halt, in order to make a new beginning. This very often results in a restatement of some important point. In this way, equivalence can structure whole discourses.

The next variety of paraphrase is negated antonym. It, also, involves neither an addition no loss of information. Generally, negated antonyms such as *white* and *not black* are close equivalents. The negated term may come in either member of the combination: in *It's white, not black*, it comes in the second member - in *It's not white; on the contrary, it's black*, it comes in the first member.

Instead of a pair of adjectives we may find a pair of verbs, as in:

> To preserve this conception of India as a country still whole, historical facts had not been suppressed. They had been acknowledged and ignored.
>
> (From V.S. Naipaul, *An Area of Darkness*, Penguin 1968, p. 188.)

Here the negated term, the verb *suppress*, comes in the first member, while the antonym is the verb *acknowledge*.

Instead of a pair of antonyms, we sometimes have two lexical items which belong to a GRADIENCE SCALE and the HIGHER RANKING item is negated. Consider:

It's not hot, it's warm.

It's warm, it's not hot.

It is consistently the higher ranking item (in this case, *hot*) that is negated. A less simple gradience scale underlies the next sentence, which sets up a semantic opposition between *a good man* and *a paragon of virtue*:

> He's a good man, but he's no paragon of virtue

For Longacre, this is a SEMANTIC opposition; his theory has no PRAGMATIC component. For him, discourse is as much a part of language as sentence, clause, phrase, word, and so on (cf. page 2 in this paper). Alternatively, of course, discourse can be equated with CONTEXT. If this latter view is adopted, oppositions such as the one in the previous example would probably be categorized as pragmatic, rather than semantic.

Like equivalence paraphrase, negated antonym paraphrase frequently serves as a stylistic device (as something that 'embellishes' the discourse, in Longacre's term). It can also have a function in expository prose, eg. in EMPHATIC ASSERTION, as in:

> To a Shoshone Indian, marriage is nothing to write sonnets about; it's a life-and-death business.
>
> (Peter Farb, *Man's Rise to Civilization*, Bantam 1978, p. 27.)

In this case, the contrasted terms are the romantic notion of marriage, as something *to write sonnets about*, and an extremely serious view of the same, as *a life-and-death business*.

We adduce one more illustration of equivalence and negated antonym, expressed at the paragraph level (Naipaul, p. 188; see above).

> To preserve this conception of India as a country still whole, historical facts had not been suppressed. They had been acknowledged and ignored; and it was only in India that I was able to see this as part of the Indian ability to retreat, the ability genuinely not to see what was obvious. It is only now that I see how much this philosophy had also been mine. It had enabled me, through the stresses of a long residence in England, to withdraw completely from nationality and loyalties; it had made me content to be myself alone; it had convinced me that every man was an island, and taught me to shield all that I knew to be good and pure.

Apart from the negated antonym paraphrase at the beginning (which has already been discussed), there is another in sentence two: *the ability to retreat...the ability genuinely not to see what was obvious*; where a semantic opposition obtains between the verbs *retreat* and *see what is obvious*. In addition, there is an equivalence paraphrase, perhaps, to be detected in sentence four: *to withdraw completely...to be myself* *alone*. The extract as a whole is an exercise in subtle self-inquiry, and the paraphrasing reflects a mental struggle, the search for the most appropriate expression.

The next paraphrase relation is generic-specific. This is a very common paraphrase, involving a gain of information in the second member.

In Grimes (1975:215), there is a corresponding rhetorical predicate, SPECIFICALLY (ibid., p. 215). This relates subordinate information that is semantically LESS INCLUSIVE to a centre which is MORE INCLUSIVE and therefore less precise. The following is a simple sentence-level illustration:

I heard a flock of birds flying south - geese.

Here the more specific term, *geese*, comes in the second member. This type of semantic relation is sometimes referred to as HYPONYMY (eg. Leech 1974:100).

Generic-specific paraphrase is an important device of paragraph development. The progression from the more general to the more specific clearly represents a major type of expository technique. This can be seen in the next example (Pendle, p. 51).

> The special characteristics of the Spanish occupation of Middle and South America appear particularly marked when a comparison is made with the English colonization of North America. One important difference was in time. The Spaniards began much earlier than the English. Columbus had established a permanent settlement on the island of Hispaniola in 1493; the first permanent English settlement in North America was not made until 1607.

Here the general-specific relation obtains between sentences three and four. In three, *the difference in time* is explained in general terms; in four it is stated quite specifically. Notice, for instance, that *Columbus*, in this discourse, is a 'hyponym' of *Spaniard* (although, of course, he was an Italian by birth).

A more delicate classification of generic-specific relations is possible (Grimes, 1975:216). This gives a trichotomy of ABSTRACT/CONCRETE, LITERAL/METAPHORICAL and DENOTATIVE/CONNOTATIVE.

In the first of these varieties of the general-specific paraphrase, something concrete is given as a specific instance of an abstract statement. Consider the following paragraph opening:

> Even harsher measures of control were tried in other cities. In Milan, when cases of the plague were first discovered, all the occupants of the three houses concerned were walled up inside and left to perish.
>
> (Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death*, Penguin 1970, p. 217.)

The topic sentence contains two abstract terms, *measure of control* and *city*. In the second sentence the term city is replaced by a hyponym, *Milan*, and the sentence as a whole gives a specific instance of one (extremely harsh) measure of control.

Concrete instances can clarify abstract definitions, as in the following:

> Lest there be any possible shadow of doubt, strength is not the same thing as stiffness. Stiffness is concerned with how stiff, flexible, springy or floppy a material is. Strength is the force or stress needed to break a thing. A biscuit is stiff but weak, steel is stiff and strong, nylon is flexible and strong, raspberry jelly is flexible and weak.
>
> (J.E. Gordon, *The New Science of Strong Materials*, Penguin 1968, p. 43.)

In the second variety of general-specific paraphrase, a metaphorical item stands as a counterpart to a literal item, eg.

> She came into the room furious, all guns blazing.

Here the "literal" item is *furious*.

The literal item may be absent in the surface structure. Within the English language, in fact, there are styles that are distinguished by this feature. Consider the next extract, which is from *Newsweek* (August 8, 1977, p. 39):

> All of a sudden, jazz is hot again. Pushed into a neutral corner by rock in the '60s, jazz has at last come out fighting. The signs of rebirth are everywhere.

Sentence two, in this extract, stands as a specific metaphorical "counterpart" to a dry and colourless literal statement which is "deleted" in the surface structure. Notice that, in this case, the metaphor derives from the province of boxing.

Clearly, metaphoric paraphrase is an infrequent feature of expository discourse. The same remark applies to the third and final variation of the general-specific theme, denotative/connotative. In this type, the more general statement is prosaic, with little evaluation, while the more specific one is heavy on personal evaluation, eg.

> The former tenants had painted the wall red,
> the most garish crimson you can imagine.

A statement of fact is paraphrased as a statement of opinion. In this example the denotative term is *red*, in the next it is *vacant*:

> The premises stood vacant, an eyesore in the neighbourhood.

This example, in fact, combines the features of metaphorical and connotative.

We have now looked at three varieties of the generic-specific paraphrase. In expository discourse, the variety here referred to as abstract/concrete is, clearly, by far the most frequent. An expository paragraph, in English, commonly begins with an abstract topic sentence. This states the core information in general terms, and is succeeded by discourse units that clarify its meaning in specific tems. The extract below exemplifies this kind of propositional development: (from Farb 1978, p. 242):

> The American Indians are unique in certain physical traits. For example, the incidence of red-green color blindness and hair on the middle segments of the fingers is very low. American Indians almost never become bald or have gray hair, even in extreme old age, and their skins tan readily. They have a high frequency of arches rather than whorls in their fingerprints.

Here, sentences two, three and four cohere into one larger-than-the-sentence discourse unit, 'subordinated' to the topic sentence. They also specify those *physical traits* in which, in sentence one, the American Indians are said to be unique.

Notice, incidentally, that the BASIC combination underlying the above paragraph is COUPLING (see above): after the topic sentence it consists of a collection of statements, conjoined by a deep structure (non-temporal) *and* relation. However, this collection is, in turn, combined with the topic sentence, by the general-specific paraphrase relation. In this way, two different deep structures of discourse cooperate, to produce an English expository paragraph.

While coupling may be described as a deep structure *and* relation, it is tempting to characterize general-specific paraphrase as a deep structure *THUS* relation. In surface structure, the presence of a conjunction is a exception, rather than the rule. However, in the next example the underlying semantic relation is marked in the surface structure (Farb 1978, p. 169):

> The rewards to which they look forward consist principally in feasting. Thus they think that those who have been the faithful observers of their laws will be conducted into a region of pleasures, where all kinds of exquisite viands will be furnished them in abundance.

This describes an Indian tribe's concept of life after death. Notice, for instance, that *a region of pelasures where all kinds of exquisite viands will be furnished them in abundance*, in sentence two, cross-references to *feasting*, in sentence one - thus explaining an abstract general expression in terms of a concrete and specific one.

In this review of elaborated deep structure combinations, there are now two more paraphrase relations to consider: amplification and summary. Like generic-specific paraphrase, amplification involves an INCREASE of information in the second member. Moreover, in amplification, as well as in generic-specific, more SPECIFIC lexical items occur in the second member. However, there is this difference between these two: only in amplification paraphrase the first statement is REPEATED in substance (often by means of a synonym) and a further phrase or two is ADDED which gives the additional information (Longacre 1976:137).

The sentence below is a simple example of amplification at the sentence level:

> He went away; he went away two weeks ago.

In the next sentence the pattern is somewhat varied:

> He went away; I saw him go away.

In the first case the additional information comes from the specification of the time of departure; the first 'term' of the paraphrase, *he went away*, is repeated. In the second example the first term is incorporated into the phrase *him go away* in the second member.

The third example, also on sentence level, is an even more complex variation:

> During the night it snowed, the first snow of the winter.

We can recognize the second clause as a transform of *it snowed for the first time that winter.*

On supra-sentential levels the patterns of amplification tend to be so complex as to become almost impossible to recognize. This is only natural, since (as we have said) the paragraph is more loose and rambling in its structure than the sentence. Still, it is obvious that amplification is a major device of discourse development. A case in point is, perhaps, the dual function of what we have called the topic sentence.

In addition to introducing a novel theme, a topic sentence frequently repeats the theme of the previous discourse unit. Consider:

> Despite the government's interest, however, there are formidable obstacles to EOR. Environmental standards governing what may be pumped into the earth or spewed into the air could hamper many EOR experiments.
>
> (*Newsweek*, April 30, 1979, p. 35.)

The phrase *the government's interest* reiterates, in substance, the topic of the previous paragraph, ie. that the government is interested in EOR. At the same time, the reiteration sets up linkage with what has gone before. It also corresponds to the first element of the amplification structure: the restatement of the GIVEN (or presupposed) information. As for the rest of the opening sentence, *there are formidable obstacles to EOR*, it corresponds to the second element of amplification: the assertion of the NEW information. In the topic sentence the new, or additional, information is given in general terms; in sentence two it is further specified.

In the above extract, amplification forms the basis of the topic sentence. In the next illustration it underlies the relation between the topic sentence and its immediate successor (from Pendle, p. 66):

> The stream of gold and silver from the New World had disastrous effects in Spain. The influx of so much easy money led to extravagance, stimulated inflation and discouraged industry.

It may be noticed how the phrase the *influx of so much easy money*, in sentence two, copies the reference of the phrase *the stream of gold and silver from the New World* in sentence one. Again, in sentence two - the second member of the amplification paraphrase - the general phrase *disastrous effects*, from sentence one, is replaced by the specific *extravagance*, *inflation* and *discouraged industry*.

Incidentally, not all paragraphs begin with the topic sentence. In general, however, some sort of a topic sentence is stated EARLY in the paragraph and subsequent sentences develop the theme of the topic sentence by various paraphrase devices. Sometimes the topic itself is introduced by means of a paraphrase, ie. there are, in a way, two (or even three) ‘topic sentences’, related for instance, through amplification. The following extracts exemplify this phenomenon (both from P.B. and J.S. Medawar, *The Life Science*, Paladin 1978, p. 140, 160):

> The working of the body requires a highly efficient coordination of its several activities. In animals an event in one part of the body influences or is influenced by an event elsewhere through the mediation of hormones or of nerves. Hormones are substances such as thyroxine and triiodothyrodine, which are products of the thyroid gland, insulin and cortisone-like substances manufactured by the outer shell of the adrenal gland.

> Most people will be reassured to learn that preserving human life in the deep freeze is very far beyond our technological capabilities. The same applies to rearing the human fetus outside the body. However, the fertilization of the human egg in vitro and its reimplantation into a prepared uterus is not inherently a very difficult feat.

In the first example, sentences one and two combine to introduce the topic ‘coordination of the activities of the body through the mediation of hormones and nerves’. For in sentence two, which is the amplification, the substance of sentence one is first repeated (*an event in one part of the body influences or is influenced by an event elsewhere* cross-referencing to *the working of the body* and *its several activities*) and to this is added the phrase *through the mediation of hormones or of nerves*, to give the additional information.

In the second example we find a similar development, although there is a very noticeable difference in the surface structures. For, instead of being repeated in different words, the given element is here replaced by an abbreviatory phrase, ie. *the same applies to* - which, in this context, substitutes for *is very far beyond our technological capabilities*, in sentence one. As for the additional information (or the new element), it comes, of course, in the phrase *rearing the human fetus outside the body*. Finally, notice that in sentence three the topic proper of the discourse is introduced, namely *the fertilization of the* *human egg in vitro and its reimplantation into a prepared uterus.* It is significant that sentence three is related to its predecessors by means of a negated antonym paraphrase, so that there is a semantic opposition between the phrases *not inherently a very difficult feat*, in sentence three, and *beyond our technological capabilities*, in sentence one.

The foregoing is hardly a satisfactory treatment of the amplification paraphrase; however, a detailed argument in justification of the examples presented is clearly beyond the scope of this paper. We must continue the survey and conclude our discussion of paraphrase relations with some remarks on summary paraphrase.

According to Longacre (1976:138), summary is a type of paraphrase which employs a GENERIC lexical item in the LAST member, after a series of more SPECIFIC items in the PRECEDING members, eg.

> John works at the sawmill; Jim at the repair shop; and Al at the printshop - that's what they're all doing.

Here *that* and *they* as pronouns, *all*, and *doing* as a generic verb of activity, are all used to refer back to the preceding statements.

We will illustrate the working of summary paraphrase on the paragraph level (the beginning of this extract from Farb 1978, p. 169, is quoted above.)

> The rewards to which they look forward consist principally in feasting. Thus they think that those who have been the faithful observes of their laws will be conducted into a region of pleasures, where all kinds of exquisite viands will be furnished them in abundance, and their delightful and tranquil days will flow on in the midst of festivals, dances and women. In short, they will revel in all imaginable pleasures.

The generic phrase *all imaginable pleasures*, in the last member of this summary paraphrase, refers back to the more specific items and phrases, such as *exquisite viands*, *festivals*, *dances* and *women*, in the preceding sentences. The function of the concluding sentence is indicated, in this case, by means of the phrase *in short*.

In the next illustration the summary function is also overtly signalled, by means of the phrase *in a word* (from Pendle, p. 96):

> In the time of his military campaigns when his head-quarters were in a city, town or village, dances were arranged nearly every night and his pelasure was to dance and valse, then vanish from the room

> to dictate some orders and dispatches, and again dance and work again. In this way his ideas bacame clearer and stronger and his style more elegant. In a word, dancing inspired him and excited his imagination.

This is an anecdote illustrating the idiosyncratic working habits of Simon Bolivar. The descriptive part of sentence one is succeeded by a sentence encoding result; and the whole is rounded off by a summary which encapsulates, in general terms, the beneficial effect of dancing on Bolivar's creative powers.

We have now dealt with those elaborated deep structures of discourse that may be referred to as paraphrase relations. We have assumed, following Longacre, that the varieties of paraphrase are recognizable on the paragraph as well as on the sentence level. It is evident, however, that our examples of paraphrase on the paragraph level are not - indeed cannot be - as close as those that can be encountered in examples of this structure encoded as sentences. All the extracts of English expository prose, adduced here to illustrate the varieties of paraphrase on the paragraph level, are undeniably relatively open and loose in their structure. Nevertheless, it seems equally undeniable that there IS structure - although opinions may differ as regards its interpretation. In this situation the notion of paraphrase provides us with an entering wedge; and at least with a basis for an objective analysis.

There is now one more elaborated combination to consider, namely illustration. According to Longacre (1976:141), a speaker or writer can illustrate a point, especially in expository discourse, by using a SIMILE or citing an EXAMPLE.

In the deep structure called simile, two dissimilar things are paired by virtue of their possessing a point of similarity. Languages have special surface structures for the simile English characteristically uses *like* as a preposition or conjunction, eg. *A pretty girl is like a melody*.

Another English surface structure for the simile is seen in the following:

That girl runs as swiftly as a gazelle.

Here the simile conjoins an ASSERTION (*that girl runs swiftly*) with a a PRESUPPOSITION ('a gazelle runs swiftly'). There is also the condition that the assertion must refer properly and that the presupposition must be accurate or correct (Mack 1975:222).

A metaphor, of course, is different from a simile. Both, however, may have the same 'origin'. One opinion is that they have a common deep structure - involving comparison of the above kind; in the case of metaphor, explicit comparison is 'deleted' in surface structure. Thus *She acts like a baby* gets 'contracted' to *She is a baby*.

In Grimes (1975:217), the rhetorical predicate corresponding to Longacre's simile is the one termed ANALOGY. Analogy is classified as /s a hypotactic predicate: it connects a subordinate proposition to a /s dominant one - not by LOGIC, however, but by LIKENESS. Thus in analogy points of likeness are deliberately exploited, for the purpose, for instance, of supporting a main statement, as in the following argument ascribed to Leonard Bloomfield:

> Trying to do linguistics without any reference to meaning would be like going into battle with one hand tied behind your back.

This draws on an analogy in an attempt to demonstrate the irrationality of a purely formal linguistics. Such an undertaking is dismissed as utter nonsense, as 'suicidal' in fact. The example shows that analogy can have a function in expository discourse, eg. as an argumentative device.

In pragmatic terms, Bloomfield's dictum must have been intended as a REJECTION (of a particular theoretical position in linguistics). In the next extract, analogy is put to a similar use (*Newsweek*, August 8, 1977, p. 7):

> Foreign borrowing is an anesthetic so people don't feel the pain of living beyond their means, but some day the anesthetic will wear off and we will have to pay off the loans.

The point of this is clear enough: foreign borrowing gives a false sense of security. The point is illustrated by an analogy, by discovering a similarity between two otherwise dissimilar things, - the financial activity of borrowing abroad and the surgical practice of applying an anesthetic. It goes without saying that the illustration makes the assertion more vivid and graphic. Although there is a loss in brevity and economy, there is a corresponding gain in colour and emphasis.

The previous extracts exemplify analogy on the sentence level. In the next one, however, the device is 'extended', to underlie an expository discourse unit constisting of three sentences:

> Sense organs are instruments of the kind known to physicists as 'transducers' - they exactly translate or map one wave form or energy form into another. Examples of transducers are a microphone and the pickup of a gramophone, both of which translate mechanical vibrations into minute voltage pulses. Biological sense organs respond to changes in the environment and translate them into nerve impulses.
>
> (Medawar and Medawar, p. 145.)

This is the opening of a chapter on sense organs, which are objects belonging to the domain of BIOLOGY. The passage, however, makes them analogous to transducers, objects of the universe of PHYSICS. Notice that sentence three, the key sentence in the passage, might be prefaced by such a phrase as *in a similar way*.

In the previous extract, the point of the 'instrument analogy' is to render the biological function of sense organs more easily intelligible. The extract also includes an instance of the second illustration structure, exemplification:

> Examples of transducers are a microphone and the pickup of a gramophone, both of which translate mechanical vibrations into minute voltage pulses.

In general, exemplification is a deep structure that combines a statement indicating a UNIVERSAL SET of objects, eg. *transducers*, with another statement declaring some object or objects, eg. *a microphone* and *the pickup of a gramophone*, to be among the MEMBERS of that set.

Exemplification, like simile, is customarily expressed in English within a sentence. However, it may occasionally be given more extensive development within a larger discourse unit. The following is an instance of the latter phenomenon:

> Rice farming is by far the most time-consuming work of the traditional Kpelle, but there are other skills that everyone learns. For example, all members of the community help in the building of a house.
>
> (Michael Cole et al., *The Cultural Context of Learning and Thinking*,

Methuen 1971, p. 37.)

In the above instance of exemplification, the universal set is indicated in sentence one: *skills that everyone learns*; while in sentence two *the building of a house* is declared to be one of those skills.

Next we adduce a whole paragraph (from Cole et al., p. 38):

> In addition to activities engaged in by all or most of the community, there are tasks performed only by specialists. These include black-smithing, weaving, bonesetting and traditional medicine. Many of these specialties have rituals and taboos, restricting its practice to members of particular groups or secret societies. For instance, bonesetting can be learned only by a direct patrilineal descendant, but any man can become a blacksmith.

The topic sentence introduces a universal set: *tasks performed only by specialists*. (Notice incidentally, the 'existential' surface structure, *there are*..., typically used in beginning a discourse.) In sentence two the paragraph is developed by exemplification: a particular sub-class of activities is named and said to be included in the universal set identified in the topic sentence. Next, the theme is amplified in sentence three - where, incidentally, the phrase *these specialties* is a re-identification of the universal set. In this amplification, moreover, a sub-classification of *tasks performed only by specialists* is identified, for these tasks are indicated to consist of one category *restricting its practice to members of particular groups or secret societies*, as well as (by implication) of another not imposing such restrictions. Finally, sentence four concludes the paragraph, declaring *bonesetting* to be a member of the RESTRICTED sub-category of SPECIALTIES and, correlatively, BLACKSMITHING to be a member of the NON-RESTRICTED sub-category of the same. (Notice the surface structures *bonesetting can be learned only by*...and *any man can become a blacksmith*.)

In the two instances of exemplification so far, the underlying notional structure is indicated in surface structure, by such phrases as *for example*, *for instance* and *these include*. In the following final illustration the same function is signalled by the phrase *foremost among these are*... (also from Cole et al., p. 45):

> Certain special modes are commonly used for indirect communication. Foremost among these are tales and proverbs, which can be used to give instructions to children, warn persons against ill-considered behaviour, sum up an argument, or convey information to members of

a select group.

This uses the device of exemplification to describe certain modes indirect communication. The subject matter is introduced and identified in the topic sentence, while sentence two asserts *tales* and *proverbs* to be among the most important modes of indirect communication used in the community in question.

It is time now to conclude this survey of what Longacre calls deep structures of discourse. This paper has been a tentative attempt to isolate some of those SEMANTIC structures that underlie English expository discourse. It is the impression of this writer that tagmemic theorists provide us with the basic categories, but clearly the framework needs to be extended in future if a more exhaustive taxonomy is to be aimed at. But even the present classification can indicate fruitful lines of inquiry. To take just one example: we need to know more about the SURFACE STRUCTURE REALIZATION, in English, of the basic as well as the elaborated combinations (or rhetorical predicates). This requirement entails more, much more, close analysis of discourses - all the time bearing in mind, however, that our theoretical concepts are also in constant demand of further clarification, further refinement.

Another consideration is that this semantic (or semantic-and-syntactic) analysis need, eventually, to be integrated with a PRAGMATIC framework; there are pointers indicating ways in which this can be achieved. However, a closer look at those pointers would take us far beyond the limited scope of the present paper.

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